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CELSUS, THE FIRST PAGAN CRITIC OF CHRISTIANITY, AND HIS ANTICIPATION OF MODERN THOUGHT.

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It is an interesting glimpse that we get through a historic vista of sixteen hundred and fifty years of the intellectual and literary activity of the church at Alexandria. Origen, that sweet-hearted, large-minded theologian and scholar, has made it the seat of his labors. Under the patronage of his generous friend Ambrosius, he is devoting himself with tremendous industry to the production of works which are to survive the rust and blight of sixteen centuries. This wealthy friend and patron has kindly provided him with seven shorthand writers, who relieve each other at stated times, and with an equal number of transcribers, together with young girls who act as copyists and who prepare for publication the matter he has dictated. What literary opulence for a man who had been accustomed to live on four obols a day and who had literally construed the command of Jesus not to possess two coats or to wear shoes! But Ambrose pays the bills.

Origen having offended his ecclesiastical superiors at Alexandria, betook himself to Cæsarea, where he soon developed large influence. The friendship of Ambrose did not desert him; and one day Origen received from his benefactor a book which had excited great attention in the heathen world, written in Greek, bearing the title *Λόγος Αληθής* or "True Discourse." It was a powerful arraignment of the beliefs of the Christians. Still more, it was an earnest appeal to Christians to be reconciled to the existing order of things. It was written by a man of immense learning who had ranged through

the vast fields of Greek literature; who knew its poets and philosophers, its history and mythology; who quotes from Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Heraclitus, Herodotus, Euripides, and many others; who was deeply imbued with the philosophy of Plato, and had studied the religious systems of the Jews, the Egyptians, the Persians and Indians; a man of wide travel, a student of art and science, a social economist, a patriot with a profound interest in the welfare of the State. And all this vast learning was gathered and wielded with immense force by a mind of philosophic grasp, breadth of sympathy, critical acumen, brilliant wit, and at times capable of glowing eloquence.

This book was written by one Celsus. Who this Celsus was, Origen did not know. The name was a common one. Keim has counted about twenty who bore it. When Origen received the book he was nearly sixty years of age. It came into his hands, therefore, about the year 245. But this book had been in existence for many years. Origen, therefore, can only guess at the author. He presumes him to be an Epicurean who lived in the time of Hadrian. Origen's palpable error in calling the author of the "True Discourse" an Epicurean has been followed by many of the church historians, and even Froude, who has the material at hand for knowing better, repeats the erroneous assumption. This Celsus is not an Epicurean, but a decided Platonist. As he is the first heathen author who mentions the sacred books of the Christians, and as some of his references bear directly upon the authorship of the four Gospels, it is important for New Testament critics to fix his exact date; but for the more general purpose of this article, which is rather to exhibit the mind and method of Celsus, such precision is not necessary. The difference is a matter of forty years. Various German critics, taking Origen's guess that he lived under Hadrian, put him about 137. Keim and others, through various political indications in his works, place him during the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The indications favor the latest date, A. D. 178.

Here then we have a criticism of Christianity written by a cultured Greek mind in the third quarter of the second century. It fell into the hands of Origen about sixty-five years after it was written. Its author had passed away; but the work had not lost its vitality. Origen was disinclined to reply to it, falling back on the example of Jesus, who, when

falsely accused, opened not his mouth. But the earnest request of Ambrose, with the intimation that some believers might have their faith shaken by its argument, induced him to undertake the task. We may be grateful to Ambrose for his request and grateful to Origen for acceding to it, since this work of Celsus is known to us to-day only through the elaborate reply which Origen constructed to demolish it. The great service he has rendered to Christian literature lies not in the fact that he destroyed the argument of Celsus, but in the fact that he has so well preserved it. Origen took up the work of Celsus piece by piece, paragraph by paragraph, and enveloped each extract in a tissue of refutation. Instead of having the full living, breathing argument of Celsus or even the articulated skeleton, we must seek the disjointed bones in the eight books in which Origen sought to give them Christian burial. We undoubtedly owe it to the fact that the work of Celsus was so thoroughly incorporated in Origen's reply that it has been preserved to us at all. If there had been any means of detaching it, it would probably have shared the cremation which overtook the works of Porphyry at a later date. Fortunately it was not possible to burn Celsus without burning Origen with him. Origen was a fair-minded and generous critic who would not wilfully garble or pervert. He has not shunned to exhibit the argument of his opponent in all its force. He sometimes paraphrases, sometimes skips and condenses; but with all the gaps, broken links, and sundered joints, we feel after we have gone through the pages of Origen, that we may practically and substantially reconstruct the work of Celsus. Its transcendent value for us is that one hundred and forty years after the death of Jesus it gives us the first picture of Christianity in relation to the thought and life of that age, drawn by a highly cultured Greek mind deeply saturated with the Platonic spirit and standing as the conservator of existing institutions. And the interest is greatly increased from the fact that in developing his argument Celsus has surprisingly anticipated a vast deal of modern criticism and modern thought.

Within the last twenty-five years there has been a revival of interest in the study of Celsus, and in the works of Pelagaud, Keim, and Baur he has for the first time had justice done to him. If we look at the conception of this heathen writer which prevails in most ecclesiastical authors, it is that of a flippant, sophistical, shallow Pagan who ventured to

raise his voice against Christianity, and who was effectually silenced by the overmastering reply of Origen. It is to a totally different conception of him that we here invite attention. Perhaps nothing will do more to dispel the traditional view than by stepping into the background and letting Celsus come to the front. Only the reader must remember that this man stands not on a Christian platform, but amid the grand temples of the Pagan world, looking down upon the snarl of Christian sects and seeing with alarm the spread of influences which threaten to undermine the ancient religion. To understand Celsus at all, we must put ourselves in his place. Reading to-day his sharp and acid criticism, his withering sarcasm directed against Christianity, it might seem as if this man were a bold and trenchant radical, striking at the root of all religion. Nothing could be more false. Celsus is not an iconoclast; he is a conservative. He is not an Epicurean who has given up all belief in God and Providence; he is not like Lucian, a man of the world who could satirize the myths of Paganism and thus place weapons in the hands of Christians against the Polytheists. To Celsus it is the Christians who are the image breakers; it is the Christians who are atheists refusing to worship longer in the temple; it is the Christians who are materialists substituting for a pure spiritual conception of God the gross anthropomorphism of the Hebrews and deifying a human being; it is the Christians who are flooding the world with silly superstitions, and who by their secret societies, their exclusiveness, their refusal to take up arms in behalf of the emperor are threatening the life of the State. There is something deeply interesting and also deeply pathetic in the picture of this cultivated Greek who, like Theodore Parker, combines vast powers of sarcasm with the deepest reverence, taking up his pen to resist a new and powerful form of intellectual and political disorder, and making an affectionate appeal for the preservation of what he deemed the established order of the world.

The work of Celsus may be divided into four parts.

1. A brief introduction.
2. A representation of a dialogue between a Jew and Jesus, which is followed by an address of the Jew to his countrymen.
3. A criticism of the doctrine of the Christians.
4. An attempt to reconcile Christianity with the religion of the emperor.

It is noticeable that many who have written upon Celsus overlook this last, but to us one of the most important divisions of the treatise. It constitutes the natural climax to the work.

Turning from the literary order to the philosophical method, we find that the author has chosen his central point of attack with great skill. He directs the whole force of his battery against the claim of Christianity to be a special divine revelation, a religion essentially new and essentially superior. In exposing its pretensions to exclusive inspiration he aims to exhibit the irrational character of its dogmas, its supposed miracles, its deification of Jesus, its claim to be the only means of salvation, its materialistic doctrine of the resurrection, and its unworthy views of God. And then, having shown that Christianity can rest simply where all other religions must rest, on the basis of universal religion, he appeals in a reconciling tone to Christians as citizens and patriots to support the emperor.

In the very introduction of the "True Discourse" the motive of the work comes out. Celsus accuses the Christians of forming secret societies in violation of law; their exclusiveness is political as well as religious. He then undertakes to knock away the props on which this exclusiveness is built. Christianity, he says, grew out of Judaism. It was of barbarian origin. The doctrines of Christianity have nothing new in them. They are common to the other philosophies. For instance, the argument of the Christians against the worship of idols is that they are the work of men, and an inferior cannot create a superior. Heraclitus, the philosopher reminds us, said practically the same thing before. The Persians also rejected the worship of idols. Christianity therefore presents nothing new.

There is a passage in the introduction which we quote because it shows that the writer could not have been an Epicurean. In recognizing the heroism of Christians who died for their belief, he says, "I do not say that he who holds to a good doctrine ought to renounce it, either in reality or in appearance, for the sake of saving his life; but," he continues, "no man ought to accept a doctrine unless it is supported by reason. Some of the Christians are unwilling to give reason or to listen to reason concerning their belief, and make use of these expressions: Examine not, but believe; your faith will save you; wisdom is a bad thing; foolishness is a good thing."

He admits that there are wise and sound-minded Christians; but his general assertion is that Christianity is for ignorant men; that accounts for its rapid spread. There is an important historical fact implied here; namely, that when he wrote Christianity was making rapid headway and becoming a threatening annoyance. "The founder of the Christian sect," he continues, "was living only a few years ago, and yet the Christians believe him the Son of God."* In a dramatic way Celsus then introduces an imaginary disputation between Jesus and a Jew. The Jew accuses him of having derived his birth from a virgin, and upbraids him with being born in a certain Jewish village of a poor woman of the country, who gained her living by spinning and who was turned out of doors by her husband, a carpenter by trade, because she was unfaithful. According to Celsus, the real father of Jesus was a soldier named Pantherus. When Jesus was a youth he was compelled by poverty to go to Egypt and work there for many years. While in Egypt he became acquainted with some of the occult sciences on which the Egyptians pride themselves. Afterward he returned to his country and, being elated with the success of his magical performance, proclaimed himself a God. This story of Pantherus, Celsus undoubtedly derived from the Jews; for as the Christians extolled the birth of Jesus, the Jews did what they could to degrade it. "You assert," continues the imaginary Jew, addressing Jesus, "that when you were baptized by John the figure of a bird lighted upon you twice. What responsible witness was there for this appearance? Who heard the voice from heaven calling you the Son of God except yourself and a fellow criminal?" He discredits the story of the wise men, and does not believe that Herod conspired against the children, or slew all the infants that had been born about this time.

"The prophecies," says the supposed Jew, "upon which you base these claims apply to innumerable persons. On what ground do you refer them exclusively to yourself? You assert that you are the Son of God. Now every man born under divine providence is a son of God; if so, in what can you differ from others? Why did you go to Egypt when you were an infant? Were you afraid of being slain? But it is not natural for God to fear death. An angel came from

*This assertion that Jesus lived "only a few years ago" is used by some as an argument for assigning the earliest date to the writings of Celsus.

heaven and commanded you and your relatives to flee lest you should die. But could not the great God protect you where you were? He had already sent two angels in your behalf. But suppose we admit that the stories propagated by your followers are true, in what do your performances differ from the performances of other jugglers?" And Celsus goes on to tell some of the wonderful feats performed by the Egyptian jugglers for a few obols in the market place. They will impart knowledge of their most venerated arts, will drive out demons from men, expel disease and invoke the souls of heroes, exhibit extensive banquets, tables, and dishes and dainties having no real existence; they will put in motion what are not really living animals, but which have only the appearance of life. And he asks, "Since then these persons can perform such feats, shall we of necessity conclude that they are Sons of God, or must we admit that they are the proceedings of wicked men under the influence of evil spirits?" Celsus was evidently acquainted with the theosophy and spiritualism of his time.

The supposed Jew then makes an appeal to his countrymen. "How could we believe him to be a divine being, who never confirmed his assertions by any great work; but after we had pronounced judgment against him and proceeded to arrest him, he most ignominiously concealed himself and was betrayed by those whom he called his disciples? A God running away from his pursuers! A God betrayed by those who regarded him as the solemn messenger of the great God! Now if a person plotted against informs the conspirators that he knows all about their plans, they desist from executing those plans; but the alleged predictions of Jesus have no effect upon his disciples; it shows that he never predicted anything."

The argument of Celsus was not of course directed against the human weakness of Jesus, but against the weakness of his supposed deity. It is sometimes assumed that the deification of Jesus was a later process; but this work, in which it furnishes a central point of attack, shows how early the process began and how it had gone on. We see also that even one hundred and forty years after the death of Jesus there was no living tradition in regard to him. Celsus says: "Some of the believers, like drunken men who lay violent hands on themselves, have altered the original form of the gospel in three ways, in four ways, in many ways. The

prophecies which you have with reference to Jesus may apply with a greater degree of probability to ten thousand other men. The prophet announces a great potentate, a leader of nations and armies, not such a pestilent fellow. Such obscure sayings and misinterpretations do not prove the manifestation of God and the Son of God." When we compare the quotations in the New Testament with their original setting in the Old, as Prof. C. H. Toy has done in his excellent book on "The New Testament Quotations," we see how strained is the application of these prophecies to Jesus, and how acutely Celsus has anticipated some of the results of modern criticism.

Again, Celsus, wishing to identify the works of Jesus with similar works performed by magicians, exclaims, "Oh light! Oh truth! He distinctly declares with his own voice, as yourselves have recorded, that others will come performing similar works by the power of one Satan. Jesus then does not deny that such works were done by wicked men and sorcerers. Is it not then ridiculous to conclude from the same works that the one is God and the other a sorcerer? You say you believe in him because he predicted his own resurrection; but others have predicted similar things for the purpose of deceiving stupid people. This was the case with Zamolxis in Scythia, the slave of Pythagoras and with Pythagoras himself in Italy, and with Rhampsinitus in Egypt and with Orpheus among the Odrysians and Protesilaus in Thessaly and Hercules and Theseus. But the real thing to be considered is not what fables say, but whether a really dead man ever came to life again. Do you think that what you say of others is fiction, but that what you say of him is truth?" Celsus points out here the vulnerable heel in all arguments which attempt to prove the divine origin of Christianity by appealing to its recorded miracles. What he asks is that Christians shall show as much respect for the miraculous claims of other religions as for their own. The special argument for miraculous Christianity falls to pieces before this one challenge, "Do you think that what you say of others is fiction, but what you say of him is truth?"

But he presses the Christians further when he asks them not to present myths and fables as if they were facts. We find in Celsus a marked anticipation of the science of comparative mythology, not of course in its details, but in its principles. He saw that by the rapid idealization of those times,

in which the human mind embodied nature and humanity in poetic conceptions, the Christians and the Jews had a mythology as truly as the Greeks or the Egyptians. Taking it as mythology, Celsus had no fault to find. A myth to him presented no difficulty. He saw that myths bloom as freely from the human mind as blossoms on the trees, and that they grow in every variety of soil. If there were space it would be interesting to show the ease with which he matches a myth of the Christians with a myth of some other religion. But though he has no trouble with myths as such, he declines to accept them as historical facts. Whenever such claim is made, then he subjects it to a most searching examination. With the humanity of Jesus he could have no quarrel, but with the deification of Jesus he could have no peace. And he discovers with great acuteness the seams where the proper humanity of Jesus is welded on to his improper deity; the inconsistency and contradiction of sometimes ascribing to him human functions and then ascribing to him those which are divine. Jesus, as Celsus saw him in Christian representations, was an unnatural being. He did not do what might have been expected of a God, and the whole drama of his life as represented in Christian mythology was a mixture of incongruous elements. "According to you," says Celsus, "he could not help himself while living, but after he had died [when the presumption is that he would be still more helpless] he raised himself from the dead and showed the prints of the nails. But who saw this? A distracted woman, or perhaps some of those engaged in the same system of delusion who had either dreamed so, owing to a peculiar state of the mind, or under the influence of a wandering imagination had formed an appearance according to their own wishes, which has been the case with numberless individuals."

We see in this paragraph how far Celsus anticipated the view of Renan and Strauss in regard to the resurrection, declaring that its truth rests upon the evidence of an hysterical woman, that the phenomenon of these appearances must be studied by the laws of psychology. Celsus would have referred the matter to the Hellenic Society for Psychical Research. If the divinity of Jesus was to be tested in this way, he claims that Jesus ought to have showed himself after his resurrection to those who persecuted him and in general to all men, or, to have manifested his divinity, he ought to have disappeared from the cross.

"Now all these statements are taken from your own books: we need no further testimony; you fall upon your own swords." And in another place Celsus in referring to the resurrection of Jesus says: "There came an angel to the tomb of this said being (according to some, one; according to others, two), who answered the woman that he had risen. For the Son of God could not himself, as it seems, open the tomb, but needed the help of another to roll away the stone."

Celsus had read Homer, and the Homeric heroes do not generally get the gods to do things for them which they can do for themselves.

Celsus has been speaking through the mouth of a supposed Jew (except in the last paragraph), but it is easy to see that there is a Greek mind behind the pen. He is more intent upon making a strong argument than in representing a consistent Jew. Origen does not fail to discover that it is anomalous to have a Jew quoting Homer and Euripides. And occasionally the Jew says things which no Jew would be likely to say, unless he were a Sadducee or a Samaritan. Celsus is less fettered when he puts the supposed Jew aside and steps forth in his own person. But his method of argument, though more direct, is essentially the same. Freed now from the trouble of impersonating the Jew, he can set Judaism and Christianity against each other. "The Jews and the Christians," he says, "most stupidly dispute with one another concerning the expected King of the Jews. One side maintains that he has already come, while the other side denies the fact. The Jews being originally Egyptians, seceded from their nation and got up a religion of their own. The Christians have done to them what they did to their ancestors, the Egyptians. Both are opposed to the religion of the empire." Then he points to the multiplied dissensions among Christians themselves. "At first their number was small and they were all of one mind; but now that they are so numerous they are cut up into factions. They agree in one thing only, that is, the name, if indeed they agree in that." This was a description of Christianity seventeen hundred years ago. Has the reproach lost any of its point to-day?

"The Christians," he continues, "invent terrors and superstitions to gain their power over man. They terrify their followers by threatening them with future punishments. Heaven forbid that either I or anybody else should ever reject the doctrine that the wicked shall be punished and the

just shall be rewarded after death. But the Christians assert this doctrine without proof. Why is it a fault to have studied the best opinions and to have both the reality and the appearance of wisdom? What hindrance does this offer to the knowledge of God? Why should it not rather be an assistance and a means by which one may be better able to arrive at the truth? When a person is to be initiated into the other mysteries (that is, the heathen mysteries) the herald proclaims that where any one is pure in conduct, wise in speech, where any one is free from wickedness, and is not conscious of having committed any wicked act, let him come. But what do these men say to those who are invited to join them? Whoever is a sinner, whoever is destitute of sense, whoever is foolish, and in general whoever is wretched, let the kingdom of heaven receive him. You say God was sent to sinners, but was he not also sent to the sinless? Is sinlessness a crime? According to you, God will receive the sinner if he humbles himself before him; but will not receive a person that is righteous."

Celsus then goes back to the Old Testament. He objects to the cosmogony of Moses, because it makes the universe only ten thousand years old, whereas the universe is eternal. He finds in its myths opportunities for his favorite speculations in comparative mythology. In the story of the tower of Babel he sees but a perversion of the story of Otus and Ephialtes, who attempted to pile Ossa upon Olympus and Pelion upon Ossa. The story of the destruction of Sodom he compares to Phaethon burning the earth. Celsus's conjectures in comparative mythology are not wilder than those of many who have lived in modern times. The interest that attaches to them is not that he succeeds in identifying such myths, but that he perceives that they spring from similar attitudes and exertions of the human mind.

But he has no patience with literalism. "The Jews, an ignorant people, occupying a corner of Palestine, not knowing what Hesiod had written, wove together incredible and insipid stories, and imagined that God created with his own hands a certain man and a certain woman from his side; that this man received certain commands from God, and that a hostile serpent opposed these and gained a victory over the commandments of God. "God," he says with biting scorn, "could not persuade even one man. Such absurd stories are fit only for old women. They speak also of a deluge with a

monstrous ark having within it all things, and a dove and a crow as messengers, falsifying and ridiculously altering the story of Deucalion."

It is somewhat humiliating in the midst of our nineteenth-century culture to reflect that the theology of Christendom is still founded on literal and materialistic interpretations of this old Eden myth. It is but a few months since a professor in a Presbyterian theological seminary in the United States was arraigned and condemned by the courts of his denomination for teaching that Adam's body might have been derived from other animals instead of from the red earth of Eden. And it is but a year or two since a preacher to the University of Oxford was summoned before six omniscient doctors of theology on the charge of heresy concerning the fall of Adam. Celsus on the other hand thought that the Ophites, a heretical Christian sect of his time, very justly denounced the character of the God of the Old Testament because he pronounced a curse upon the serpent who introduced the first human being to a knowledge of good and evil.

This cultivated and refined Platonist constantly rebels against Jewish anthropomorphism. It was too coarse and materialistic. But Origen did not like it any better. He himself was poetic and allegorical in his interpretation, too much so to be orthodox in his day or orthodox in ours. The modern sciences of geology and astronomy have demonstrated the impossibility of taking the cosmogony of Genesis as in any sense a history of the creation of the world. It was comparatively easy work for Mr. Huxley to vanquish Gladstone when he rashly undertook to defend the inspiration of that account. But without the modern sciences at his command, Celsus could have done it almost as well. "The most stupid thing," he says, "about the Mosaic cosmogony is the introduction of days before the creation of the sun. As the heaven was not yet created, nor the foundation of the earth laid, nor the sun yet revolving, how could there be days?"

In exposing the untenable character of the Christian doctrine of the resurrection, Celsus again plants himself on scientific ground. As a Platonist he believed in an absolute God of pure spirit, and that matter was evil. In this latter respect he stands far apart from modern scientific thought. And yet in dealing with matter he anticipates a fundamental modern scientific doctrine in regard to it. He advances as a sufficient argument against the resurrection of the body the

fact that "there is no difference between the body of a bat or of a worm or of a frog and that of a man; for the matter is the same and their corruptible part is alike; a common nature pervades all these bodies, and one which goes and returns through the same recurring changes." In his "New Astronomy" Prof. S. P. Langley calls attention to the shelf in South Kensington Museum which contains in various jars and vials an exhibition of the materials of which the human body is composed. "They suggest not merely the complexity of our constitutions, but the identity of our elements with those we have found by the spectroscope; not alone in the sun, but even in the distant stars and nebulae. We have literally within our own bodies samples of the most important elements of which the great universe without is composed; and you and I are not only like each other and brothers in humanity, but children of the sun and stars in a more literal sense, having bodies actually made in large part of the same things that make Sirius and Aldebaran. They and we are near relatives." This seems but a modern reproduction of the thought of Celsus; and we find Origen in unfolding and paraphrasing the idea saying: "It is evident from what has been said that not only does a common nature pervade these bodies which have been previously enumerated (that is, bats, frogs, worms, and men), but the heavenly bodies as well." And Origen adds, "If this be the case, it is clear also according to Celsus (although I do not know whether it is according to the truth) that it is one nature which goes and returns through all bodies amid recurring changes."

Exposing then the irrational character of the doctrine of the resurrection, Celsus says, "It is folly on their part to suppose that when God, as if he were a cook, introduces the fire which is to consume the world, all the rest of the human race will be burned up while they alone will remain, not only such of them which are alive, but also those who are long since dead, which later will arise from the earth clothed with the self-same flesh. Such a hope is simply one which might be cherished by worms."

It has been maintained by some that the primitive Christians held only to a spiritual resurrection, that the doctrine of the bodily resurrection was of much later growth. But it is clear that at the time of Celsus it was a firmly established doctrine of Christian sects, although Celsus with fairmindedness adds: "This opinion of yours is not shared by some of

the Christians, and they pronounce it to be exceedingly vile and loathsome and impossible ; for what kind of a body is that which without being completely corrupted can return to its original nature, to that same first condition out of which it fell into dissolution ? Being unable to return any answer, they betake themselves to a most absurd refuge, viz. : that all things are possible with God. And yet he cannot do things that are disgraceful ; nor does he wish to do things that are contrary to his nature ; nor if (in accordance with the wickedness of your own heart) you desire anything that was evil would God accomplish it ; nor must you believe that it will be done. For God does not rule the world in order to satisfy inordinate desires, or to allow disorder and confusion, but to govern a nature which is upright and just. For the soul indeed he might be able to provide everlasting life, while dead bodies on the contrary are, as Heraclitus observes, more worthless than dung. God is the reason of all things that exist, and therefore can do nothing either contrary to reason or contrary to himself."

There is another very interesting series of passages which show still further anticipations of modern scientific thought. Celsus blames the Christians for asserting that God made all things for the sake of man, and especially for the sake of Christians ; and he enters into an argument to show that considering man with reference to his place in nature it cannot be maintained that all things exist mainly for him. His arguments and illustrations are so suggestive of some phases of the modern theory of evolution in their relation to teleology that Pelagaud after reading it says : "Who would have expected to find in a Pagan of the second century almost a precursor of Darwin ?" And Kind, a German writer, has written a monograph on this phase of Celsus's work, "*Teleologie und Naturalismus in der althristlichen Zeit.*" "Rain, thunder, and lightning," argues Celsus, "are brought into existence not more for the support of us who are human beings than for that of plants, trees, herbs, and thorns. By labor and suffering man earns a scanty and toilsome subsistence, while all things are produced for animals without their sowing and ploughing. If one were to call us the lords of the animal creation because we hunt the other animals and live upon their flesh, why should not we say that we were created on their account since they hunt and devour us ? Men require weapons and dogs when they engage in the chase ; but

animals are provided with weapons which easily bring us into their power." Celsus pushes his argument so far and with such bold and ingenious paradox that when he is through one feels that instead of merely placing animals on a level with man he has almost put them above him. To show that animals are not without the power of social organization and that they possess an endowment of reason he draws an argument from the habits of ants and bees which is clever enough for Sir John Lubbock. "If one were to look down from heaven upon the earth," he asks, "in what respect would our actions appear to differ from those of ants and bees?" It is interesting to note, as we are comparing Celsus's ideas with phases of modern thought, that Prof. Langley,* in the work already alluded to, uses almost the same illustration. "Look down at one of the nests of those smaller ants which are made in our paths. To the little people we may suppose the other side of the gravel walk is the other side of the world, and the ant who has been as far as the gate, a greater traveller than a man who comes back from the Indies. It is very hard to think not only of ourselves as relatively far smaller than such insects, but less than such an ant-hill is to the whole landscape is our solar system itself in comparison with the new prospect before us; yet so it is. What use is it," he continues, "to write down a long series of figures expressing the magnitude of other worlds, if it leaves us with the old sense of the importance to creation of our own; and what use to describe their infinite number to a human mite who reads and remains of the opinion that *he* is the object they were all created for?"

It is a very large and beautiful view of providence into which Celsus emerges: "All things therefore were not made for man any more than they were made for lions or eagles or dolphins. All things have been adjusted *not with reference to each other, but with regard to their bearing upon the whole.* God takes care of the whole, and *his providence will never forsake it.* It does not become worse, nor does God after a time bring it back to himself, nor is he angry on account of man any more than on account of apes and flies, nor does he threaten these beings each one of which has received its appointed lot in its proper place. Each individual thing comes into existence and passes away for the sake of the safety of the whole." It will be seen that Celsus is not a disbeliever

*"The New Astronomy." Chapter on the stars, page 225.

in providence, but that his view of it is large enough to include the whole universe in its operation. And here is a striking passage which shows how far he is from pessimism: "God does not need to amend his work afresh. Although a thing *may seem to you evil*, it is by no means certain that it is so. For you do not know what is of advantage to yourself or to another or to the whole world."

That Celsus was not a mere narrow-minded cynic, but a man of broad religious sympathies, is seen in his views of comparative religion. And here again I find one of the most interesting anticipations of modern thought. Col. T. W. Higginson has written a broad and catholic essay on the "Sympathy of Religions;" but the very roots of his thought are found in the "True Discourse." Its author might be called a Broad Church Pagan. His breadth of conception is seen in the earnestness with which he repels all Jewish exclusiveness. "It is absurd," he says, "to claim that the Jews are the chosen people of God alone." He has already shown that the Egyptians and Colchians also practised circumcision, and that if abstinence from swine's flesh is meritorious, the Egyptians not only do this, but abstain from the flesh of goats, sheep, oxen, and fish as well. He declares it is not probable that the Jews enjoy God's favor or are loved by him differently from others; or that angels were sent from heaven to them alone. In the Egyptians, the Persians, and the Indians he sees equal evidences of inspiration. He reproaches the Christians with setting no value on heathen oracles, while those which are uttered in Judea they think are marvellous. "Grant that Jesus is a messenger from God, is he the first one who came to men, or were there others before him? If God, like Jupiter in the comedy, on awakening from a lengthened slumber, desired to rescue the human race from evil, why did he send this spirit of which you speak into one corner? He ought to have breathed it alike into many bodies and then sent them out into all the world."

Celsus did not believe in the need of a special incarnation, that the great God of the universe needed to come down and take upon himself human flesh in order to mend the affairs of the world. The general order of providence was sufficient for its management. But if there was to be an incarnation he claimed that it should be universal. The name of God and the form in which he was worshipped were of less impor-

tance to him than the idea of God beneath all symbols. "I think it makes no difference," he says, "whether you call the highest being Zeus or Zen, or Adonai, or Sabaoth, or Amoun like the Egyptians, or Pappæus like the Scythians." He finds in this unity in diversity an argument for observing the established laws and the religion of the country in which one has been raised. "There are very great differences," he remarks, "prevailing among the nations, yet each seems to deem its own religion far the best." To show the effect of inherited custom he tells a story which he quotes from Herodotus. Among the Indians there are some who deem that they are discharging a holy duty in eating their deceased fathers. Darius during his reign having summoned before him those Greeks who happened to be present, asked them what would induce them to eat their deceased fathers. They answered with abhorrence that for no consideration would they do such a thing. Then Darius turned to the Callatians, the parent eaters, and asked them through an interpreter how many of them would be willing to have their deceased fathers burned; on which they raised a terrible shout and bade the king say no more. Such is the way in which such matters are regarded. Pindar appears to me to be right in saying that "Law is the king of all things." Later on Celsus shows that it is unreasonable to suppose that all people must act under one religious law. The belief of Origen, on the other hand, was that Christianity would eventually prevail over the entire rational creation.

Long as this paper is, it must leave undeveloped many points in the argument of the author of the "True Discourse." In representing his anticipations of modern thought, we have naturally brought out those ideas which are most interesting to the thought of our time. And it is important to notice that where Celsus joins the thought of our age, it is on its most progressive side. But pleasing as this comparison is, we must not forget that he wrote primarily for his own age. He had a mission then and there to fulfil. He might, however, have found some support for his own view that history revolves in cycles, in the fact that the conditions under which he wrote are paralleled to some extent in our own day. That was an age of intellectual, religious, and social revolution. And so is ours. If we were to point out three prominent aspects of the spirit of our own age, we might distinguish:

1. The rise of the modern critical and scientific spirit in the midst of an age of credulity.

2. A period of world-wide social revolution exhibited in a protest or revolt against the established order.

3. A profound revolution in religious thought accompanied by an ethical revival, a fresh enthusiasm for the application of the law of righteousness and love to human society. So when Celsus wrote we might discover, with more or less distinctness and in varying proportions, the existence of these same elements: the scientific and critical spirit, a religious revolution marked by a new social theory, and a fresh ethical enthusiasm. In Celsus we see the scientific spirit; in Christianity, the social revolution and the ethical enthusiasm. How much Celsus felt the pressure of the scientific spirit of his day is seen in the wonderful facility with which he applied it. We cannot suppose that he was the only embodiment of its influence. It was the spirit which Lucian directed as effectually against Paganism as Celsus had against Christianity; for Paganism needed its application just as much. The fact that Lucian mentions a friend of his, Celsus by name, who wrote a treatise against magic, has led to a strife among critics as to whether this Celsus is the same as the author of the "True Discourse." The difficulty has been that the two men do not stand on the same plane of thought and religion. But Keim advances the very natural supposition that the two men, Lucian and Celsus, the one an Epicurean and the other a Platonist, and both representing the highest type of Greek culture, joined hands in this crisis to combat the superstitions of their age. In this work the scientific and rational method was a powerful weapon. But in Celsus we see a man who could apply the scientific spirit without losing his own faith; who could exhibit the untenable character of the Hebrew and Christian cosmogony, and yet believe in the divine origin of the world; who could assail the doctrine of the bodily resurrection, and still believe in the immortality of the soul; who could dispute the deity of Jesus, and still believe that there were messengers or spirits from God to men; who could, like Theodore Parker, unsparingly satirize the materialism of the Hebrew-Christian God, and still believe in a pure, spiritual theism.

But if Celsus uses the critical or rationalistic method, it is not as an end, but as a weapon. He was about to follow it with an ethical appeal. Far more than the pressure of the

scientific spirit did he feel the pressure of the social revolution and the political danger. He sees the rise of what he regards as a secret organization without any national character, without unity in itself, a hodge-podge of quarrelling sects. It had its origin among a lot of Galilean fishermen. It is distinguished by arrogance and ignorance. It is hostile to the temples and symbols of the ancient religion. It defies man; it is a hotbed of superstition. It is the Salvation Army of his day, and Celsus does not see any salvation in it. Viewed from the lofty height of Platonism, it is atheistic and materialistic. As Pelagaud, comparing it with our own time, has said, Celsus might have adopted for his treatise the title used by a modern writer, "Atheism and the Social Peril." If it sounds strange to us to hear him stigmatize Christians as atheists or non-atheists, we may cool our indignation by reflecting that Christians in their controversies with each other have visited similar reproaches upon the heads of their opponents. But standing in the position in which he did, it is not strange that this Pagan should have been blinded a little by the mote in his own eye. He looked upon Christianity as an American Christian may look at Mormonism, as something which religiously and politically is opposed to the genius of American institutions, as a deluded lot of ignorant people setting up a hierarchy of their own. But he hopes that they will listen to the voice of reason.

His eloquent appeal to the Christians in behalf of the established order of government and religion is most completely given in the seventh and eighth books of Origen's reply. Previously Celsus has stood in sharp antagonism to the Christians. But now his tone is one of reconciliation. His apology for Pagan idolatry is that which a cultivated man would make. He shows that the Christians are unreasonable in their opposition to images, which are after all only symbols. "For who, unless he be utterly childish in his simplicity, can take these for gods and not for offerings consecrated to the service of the gods or images representing them. The Christians do not discriminate. But the Christians say that the beings to whom they are dedicated are not gods but demons, and that worshippers of God ought not to worship demons." Celsus explains: all things are ordered according to God's will; his providence governs all things; everything which happens in the universe, whether it be the work of angels or other demons or of heroes, is regulated by

the will of the most high God. He believes that God has assigned to the lower order of agencies, popularly called gods or demons, various departments of authority and activity and various nationalities. Jesus, he remarks, said, "No man can worship two masters." But Celsus submits whether it is not just that he who worships God should serve those also to whom God has assigned such power. His argument is simply the divine right of kings applied to an order of invisible beings. In honoring the king you do not dishonor God; and in honoring one of the king's officers you do not dishonor the king. The way in which he reproaches the Christians with inconsistency will be interesting to modern Unitarians: "If those people worshipped one God alone and no other, they would perhaps have some valid argument against the worship of others; but they pay excessive reverence to one who has but lately appeared among men, and they think it no offence against God if they worship also his servant." His argument is essentially: "If you are going to worship Jesus, why can you not pay respect to the other heroes and messengers? What is to hinder those who are most devoted to the service of Jesus from taking part in various public offices?"

That Celsus was not a man without faith in the prevailing religion is shown in his earnest defence of oracles. It might almost be published to-day by Dr. Wallace as a defence of modern spiritualism. And Origen accuses him of being quite as superstitious in his way as the Christians. But Origen here, as often before, misses the point. Celsus does not disbelieve in spiritual communication and what we call the supernatural; but to him there is no gap between the natural and the supernatural; it is all a part of a divine order. But in another passage he does not hesitate to warn people against being too much influenced by the demonology and the spiritualism of the day, to the neglect of higher things. After reading this passage, we have thought it possible that Celsus might have written the book against the magic of which Lucian speaks. Celsus has first used the similarity of Christianity to other religions to show that it cannot establish exclusive claims to inspiration. Now he uses the same fact to urge a reconciliation with the prevailing religion. "Just as you believe in punishment after death, so do the priests who interpret the sacred mysteries. The same punishments with which you threaten others, they

threaten you. It is worthy of examination which of the two is more firmly established as true, for both parties contend with equal assurance that the truth is on their side." Celsus is tolerant; he is willing to submit everything to the tests of reason and examination. In an earlier part of his work (6, 42) he has attacked the Christian doctrine of the devil, and expresses his opinion that it is the devil who ought to be punished rather than those who are deceived by him. But he declares his own conviction that those who live well in this life shall be blest in the next, while the unrighteous shall be punished hereafter. From that doctrine he hopes that neither Christians nor others will swerve. We are reminded here of the words of Paul: "Tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man who does evil; but glory, honor, and peace to every man who worketh good." He brings out his own lofty view of God: "Of him are all things. He is not to be reached by word. He cannot be expressed by name." He quotes substantially from Plato: "It is a hard matter to find the maker and the father of this universe. And after having found him it is impossible to make him known to all. But wise men endeavor to set before us that which it is impossible to express in words." There is another passage in which he says: "Truth is the object of knowledge, and if you think that the divine spirit has descended from God to announce divine things to man, it is doubtless this same spirit that reverences the truths. It was under the same influence that men of old made known many important truths." (Origen was much impressed by the passage and confesses that Celsus has a glimpse of truth.) Again he says in a noble sentence, "We must never in any way lose our hold of God, whether by day or night, whether in public or in secret, whether in word or in deed, in whatever we do or abstain from doing."

Advising them to shun deceivers and jugglers, he has a beautiful passage about seeing God: "If instead of exercising the senses alone you look upward with the soul; if, turning away the eye of the body, you open the eye of the mind, thus and thus only will you be able to see God." Only once has this been said any better. It was by the very man whom Celsus misunderstood. Jesus put it in ten Greek words: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

These are the words of a deeply reverent soul. They show that the keenness of the satire with which he repudiates

the deity of Jesus is only because of the purity of his own idea of God. And when he finds a lofty place from which undisturbed by passion or sensuality he may contemplate God it is side by side with Jesus in the sermon on the mount. Celsus was nearer to Jesus than he himself knew; and if he had published the book of practical rules of life which he promised, or if it had been preserved to us, might we not have found it to be the sermon on the mount translated from the dialect of Jesus into the language of Plato?

Celsus then earnestly exhorts Christians to fulfil their duties to religion and the State. "It is our duty to protect what has been enacted for the public advantage. Christians can make a choice between two alternatives, either to render service to the gods and respect those who are set over this service, or else let them not come to manhood or marry wives or have children or take any share in the affairs of life, but let them depart hence with all speed and leave no posterity behind them. If, on the other hand, they will take wives and bring up children, and taste the fruits of the earth, and partake of the blessings of life and bear its appointed sorrows, — for nature herself has allotted sorrows to all men, for sorrows must exist, and earth is the only place for them, — then must they discharge the duties of life until they are released from its bonds." To show that he does not ask the Christians to do anything wrong or impious he says: "If any worshipper of God should be ordered to do anything impious or to say anything base, such a command should be in no wise regarded; but we must encounter all kinds of treatment or submit to any kind of death rather than say or even think anything unworthy of God. But if any one commands you to celebrate the sun or to sing a joyful triumphal song in praise of Minerva, you will by celebrating their praises seem to render the highest praise to God; for piety in extending to all things becomes more perfect."

If the opinion of Keim and the majority of modern critics that Celsus wrote about 177-8 be accepted, his work appeared about the time that Marcus Aurelius was engaged in the second Marcomanic war. This affords an explanation of the strenuousness with which Celsus urges Christians to come to the help of the emperor. "Help the king with all your might; labor with him in the maintenance of the laws and the support of religion."

It is with this patriotic appeal that Celsus closes his re-

markable work. The question which may be passing through the mind of the reader is, how much of the argument of this brilliant Greek remains valid to-day? But there is a previous question: How much did Origen himself refute? According to some of the church theologians, Origen annihilated him root and branch. Froude, on the other side, does not do justice to the intellectual strength of Origen when he compares him to a pigmy in the hands of a giant. Origen was no pigmy, not even when measured against Celsus. We must not forget that while Celsus attacked Christianity on its weakest and worst side, Origen stands for Christianity on its strongest and best side. He had some advantages of position. He was given to what in the orthodox circles of our day, indeed in those of his own day, were considered dangerous speculations. But his heresy was only a help to him in answering a man like Celsus. Nevertheless, with all his breadth and learning he was no match for his opponent, simply because the Pagan had first choice of position, and he chose it so well that seventeen centuries have not succeeded in dislodging him. Then as now there was no unity in the Christian body, and it was not possible to say which branch of the Christian sects was best entitled to the Christian name. Occasionally Celsus attacks a belief which has dropped out of sight because the sect that represented it has perished; but that he did succeed in getting at the beliefs which are common to the Christians is evident from the fact that the things which he attacks are held by the largest number of Christians to-day. In answering his complaint that the Christians worshipped Jesus as well as the Father, Origen brings out his own heresy of subordination and says: "Grant that there may be some individuals among the multitudes of believers who are not in entire agreement with us, and who incautiously assert that the Saviour is the Most High God, however, we do not hold with them, but rather believe him when he says: 'The Father, who sent me, is greater than I.'" Sometimes Origen completely misses the point of Celsus and actually strengthens his argument, as when he tells him that he need not complain of the Christians for believing in appearances after death, because there are many instances recorded by the Greeks themselves of persons having risen from the tomb. If Celsus could himself have risen from the tomb after reading this reply of Origen he might have said: "Well, my dear man, that is just what I have been telling you."

The very point of Celsus's argument was that these phenomena were not the special property of Christianity.

Again, Origen sometimes quoted the prophecies of the Old Testament as if they were evidences of the very fulfilment which is disputed. He is far above much of the gross literalism which Celsus attacks. In replying to the demand of evidence that the dove descended upon Jesus, he treats it simply as a waking dream, a subjective impression. He thus unconsciously applies the same method which Celsus applied to the resurrection of Jesus when the Pagan suggests that that may have been a waking dream of a distracted woman. The story of Eve's creation from a rib of Adam, Origen considers to be simply allegorical, and asks whether the Christians shall not have the privilege of allegorizing their scriptures as well as the Greeks. In regard to the ark, he readily admits that according to the general opinion of its dimensions it was impossible that it could contain all the animals that were upon the earth. But by a process of allegorical mathematics he concludes that the ark was ninety thousand cubits long, twenty-five hundred cubits in breadth, that it was as big as a whole city. Such an argument would have made Celsus smile in his tomb.

The intellectual insufficiency of Origen's argument is everywhere apparent. Where then does its strength lie? Wholly on its ethical side. Here Origen is simply impregnable. He chose his position with an instinct as unerring as that of Celsus, and we may say of him as of the Pagan, that sixteen hundred and fifty years have not dislodged him. The unanswerable fact with Origen is that Christianity converts multitudes from a life of wickedness to one of virtue, from cowardice to courage. He points to the moral reformation which Christianity wrought in the homes and in the cities over which it had obtained sway. The churches of God are moral beacons in the world. Origen could not prove against Celsus that Christianity was the way, he could not prove that it was the truth, but he could prove that it was the life. Standing on the moral side, Origen was invincible, and Froude, though not doing full justice to his intellectual power, confesses his moral strength. Origen was too great a man to deny moral power to the other religions. He confesses Celsus had glimpses of truth, and after the Pagan has quoted some beautiful precepts of Plato against injustice, Origen cannot withhold his assent, and says: "It is no objection to the principles of Christianity that the same things were said

by the Greeks." But Plato, he says, addressed only the cultivated few; Jesus adapted himself to the common people. Plato spoke in abstract terms; Jesus in concrete. He thus admits that Christianity stands on the same ethical basis as Judaism and Platonism, but finds its moral mission to be to the whole world.

In this magnificent duel, the first ever fought in the arena of Christianity, we see the combatants pausing now and then to clasp each other's hands. It is the same light of the spirit which plays over their swords. Externally they stood in irreconcilable positions. Christianity could not then exchange its symbols for those of Paganism. Its democratic heritage stood opposed to the aristocracy of the empire. But when each of these men leaves his metaphysics and the forms of his philosophy and comes down to the universal principles of religion and the universal principles of ethics, then they stand side by side. It is Origen who joins the hand of Plato with the hand of Jesus, it is Origen who, recognizing the diffusion of the divine word even before the advent of Jesus, says, "For no noble deed has ever been performed amongst men where the divine word did not visit the souls of those who were capable of it." Throughout, Origen is as sweet and magnanimous as the religion he defends, and the very last sentence he writes is to request Ambrose to send him the book of Celsus on "Practical Living," "if Celsus ever carried out his intention of writing it; that we may answer it as the father of truth may give us ability, and either overthrow the false teachings that may be in it, or, laying aside all jealousy, we may testify our approval of whatever truth it may contain."

One thing let us remember to the everlasting credit of Celsus, that the weapon he used against Christianity was a pen and not a sword. There is not a hint of persecution in his treatise. He summons these Christian socialists to the ordeal of laughter, to the bar of truth. Would that Christianity had never employed any harsher weapon than the pointed pen of this Pagan! It is Christianity which comes with dyed garments from Bozrah; and the blood that stains them is that of her own children.

Could we bring Origen and Celsus together again to-day, which one of the twain would be more surprised? Origen would be delighted to find how the little grain of seed had grown and spread into the heavens; but would he not feel a

little hurt to find his own effigy hanging like a criminal from one of its boughs? This noble and sweet defender of the Christian faith assailed by the councils of the Christian church; branded as a schismatic by the Roman pope in 498; while Protestant-Luther joins his curses in sonorous Latin to the anathemas of the church? Would he not be amazed to find in the nineteenth century that a vigorous branch of the Christian church refuses to send men to India to preach the gospel to the heathen because they believe in the possible salvation of deceased Pagans? But imagine his astonishment at learning that a few years before our own age a great subject of discussion was not the salvation of the heathen, but whether he himself had been saved or not; that several books had been written on this burning question, and one of their authors (Picus Mirandulanus) had magnanimously concluded that, on the whole, it was more rational to believe that Origen was saved than that he was lost.

And what would Celsus find? That the empire in whose defence he wrote had broken into fragments; that its religion had gone with it; that the Greek language in which he wrote had ceased to be the principal medium of modern thought; that the religion of these fishermen and cobblers had nominally taken possession of Europe and a hemisphere to him unknown. But with his keen discernment he would see that the victory was not one for Christianity alone. Paganism had its share of the spoils. Celsus could go into a Roman Catholic Church cathedral and find in its priestly service enough of Paganism to make him feel quite at home. He could see that the Pagan doctrine of demons had been transmitted into the Christian doctrine of angels, and the virgin Mary transferred from the Grecian Pantheon into the Christian. He might say, "Well, Origen, how could your Christianity have conquered so much of the world without the help of Paganism, its symbols and its sword?" Origen would be forced to confess that monotheism after all could hold a good deal of polytheism. And Celsus might add: "You see, Origen, that after all Christianity has spread over relatively but a small portion of the globe. In the vast section of the East it has scarcely made a dent on the globe. Much of that which you call Christianity is nothing but the result of political conquest. How can Christianity conquer the world when it has no unity in itself?"

Celsus himself, too, would be obliged to confess humbly

to the presiding genius of human history that he was mistaken in supposing that nothing good could come out of Nazareth; for civil and intellectual liberty had been the final outcome of the ancient communism. In the light of history he would be forced to abandon his position that God would not be likely to send down his spirit to a low-born Galilean peasant. He would be impelled perhaps to seek some extant copy of his work, that he might add to it a footnote that the saviour of the American Republic was a man born in a log-cabin. If it were humiliating to find that not a single copy of his own work existed, that it was only to be found scattered in patches through the work of an opponent, he would still have this consoling reflection: "The empire has gone; my book has gone; but my thought still lives, and was never more living than it is to-day." He might point to scores of modern works, to Socinus, Erasmus, Priestley's "Corruptions of Christianity," Channing's "Moral Argument against Calvinism," to the works of the English Deists, to Theodore Parker's "Discourses," to Bishop Colenso, to Huxley and Darwin, all of whom, together with an endless number of German critics, have repeated with excusable plagiarism some of the points of his indictment against popular Christianity and its conception of the universe.

What part of his argument might Celsus justly claim as still valid to-day?

1. His arraignment of the deification of Jesus.
2. His scientific objections to the doctrine of the resurrection of the body.
3. His demonstration on scientific grounds of the untenability of the Mosaic cosmogony.
4. His exhibition of the mythical character of the Eden legends on which Christian theology is built.
5. His argument that the Hebrew prophecies were not fulfilled in Jesus of Nazareth.
6. His belief that mythology was a comparative science, and that Jewish and Christian mythology must be tested by the same laws which are applied to the mythology of other religions.
7. His claim that the miracles of Christianity must be tried by the tests which we apply to all similar manifestations.
8. His protest against the claims of Judaism or Christianity to exclusive inspiration.

9. His claim that Jesus must be regarded not as a special incarnation of God, but as one of many messengers sent for the inspiration and guidance of mankind.

10. His recognition of a universal basis and a universal inspiration for all religions.

These seem to us but modern reaffirmations of the thought of Celsus.

If we ask what is still valid in Origen's refutation, we shall find it not in his allegories, not in his philosophy, not in his speculations, not in his tedious exegesis, but in his claim that the moral fruits of Christianity are the best vindication of its place in human history. The divinity of any religion is best shown in its worth to humanity. Not through its metaphysics, but through its ethics, has Christianity reached the heart of men.

Here they stand, the living thought of Celsus and the living moral faith of Origen ; and the revolution that is going on in Christianity to-day is simply the attempt to reconcile the intellectual and scientific rationalism of Celsus with the moral faith of Origen.

THE DIRECT LEGISLATION MOVEMENT AND ITS LEADERS.

BY ELTWEED POMEROY, EDITOR OF THE DIRECT LEGISLA-
TION RECORD.

The origins of Direct Legislation are veiled in the mists of antiquity. On the one side they reach back to the ancient Greek and Latin civic assemblies of freemen ; on the other to the Teutonic *Landsgemeinden*, still surviving in the mountain cantons of Switzerland and revived in the New England town meeting.

But in its modern form of a demand for the Initiative and Referendum in communities too large to have direct legislation by town meeting, it is a growth of the last half century. It has been developed and firmly rooted in the model republic of Europe, Switzerland. Half a century ago Switzerland was not a nation, but a loosely federated group of states, wrenched by a bitter civil war, rent by violent religious prejudices, torn by class feelings and race antipathies ; to-day it is a nation bound together by self-government. Vice-President Hammer said recently of his country : "Never has our country been so united. Never have our resources been more abundant nor its military force more considerable and better organized."

The movement in Switzerland for the Initiative and Referendum, while it had its roots in the *Landsgemeinden* of the mountain cantons, in the *Volksanfragen* or popular consultations established in Zurich and Berne in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and in the fact that the members of the Swiss Diet up to 1848 could only vote *ad referendum*, — subject to ratification, — yet did not fairly show itself above ground till after the civil war of the *Sonderbund* and the adoption of the first national constitution in 1848. That constitution provided for its own ratification by the people, and also provided that the cantonal constitutions should be "according to republican forms, representative or democratic," and that they should be "ratified by the people and may be amended whenever the absolute majority of all the

citizens demand it." The three men who did the most to crystallize democratic public opinion at that time were the two Frenchmen, Louis Blanc and Emile Girardin, and the German, Martin Rittinghausen. The latter for years wrote and published, travelled and spoke, particularly in Germanic Switzerland. His writings are valuable to-day.

Various of the cantons went on changing their constitutions, ever making them more democratic; but the next great registration of this democratic movement was in 1869, when the canton of Zurich adopted a new constitution by which the Grand Council of that State ceased to possess legislative powers. They could frame laws, but they could not pass them. This is the obligatory Referendum, that all laws passed by the law-making body shall be sent to the vote of the people for acceptance or rejection. The people alone are sovereign. As a necessary correlative to this, the Initiative was adopted. This is the power of a group of voters to effectively propose laws independently of the law-making body, which, after discussion in the law-making body and among the people, are finally voted on by the people.

The man who was the most influential in the drafting and adoption of this constitution was Charles Burkly of Zurich, who has served his country in many capacities, but in none more signally than in his work for Direct Legislation. He is living, a hale and hearty man of seventy-three, and is still actively corresponding and writing on Direct Legislation, and serving in his city's Grand Council. He has been well called the Father of the Referendum.

Here a point and there another, the other cantons and the Federal Government have followed the lead of Zurich until now Direct Legislation is imbedded in the federal constitution and in all of the cantonal constitutions save that of reactionary Freiburg. In the French cantons during this time, Victor Considerant, by pen and voice, was a great factor. It has been extended to municipal government with most happy results, and every year sees some improvement in the methods used, or strengthening of the principle in statute or constitution. But, above all, it is imbedded in the hearts of the people, and no public man dares to openly even suggest its weakening.

In England there has been some progress. Prof. A. V. Dicey, as early as 1886 or 1887, wrote in favor of it in the *Nation* published in New York and later in the London

Spectator, the *Contemporary Review*, the *National Review*, and other papers. The London *Spectator*, the *Daily Chronicle*, the *Weekly Times and Echo*, and other papers have championed it. Lord Salisbury has come out in favor of a variation of the Referendum. Mr. Strachey, editor of the *Spectator*, writes:

"Generally it is fair to say that the Home Rulers reject the Referendum and the Unionists theoretically approve though they have not as yet made it a part of their platform. More and more interest is yearly attracted to the subject."

The local veto bill which failed in the last Parliament applied a form of the Referendum to the liquor question. Most of the large trades unions have used the Initiative and Referendum for years, and "they find," writes J. Morrison Davidson, an active worker for it, "the results in every way superior to that obtained by representation." Alexander M. Thompson, associate editor of the *Clarion*, an influential labor paper, has written a brilliant pamphlet on it and is continually working for it. The Fabian Society is discussing it. But while the signs point toward the dawn, Direct Legislation cannot be said to have yet risen above the horizon as a political issue in England.

The situation is similar, though perhaps a little more advanced, in France, despite the bad name which Louis Napoleon gave to the plebiscite by his gross abuse of reference to the people. It has also started in New Zealand, where it is an issue, and in Australia.

But next to Switzerland, the movement has made the most progress in the Republic of the New World. It should. Chief Justice Marshall, who has been called "the second author of the Constitution," has truly said:

"That the people have an original right to establish, for their future government, such principles as, in their opinion, shall most conduce to their happiness, is the basis on which the whole American fabric has been erected."

Direct Legislation is the culmination of democracy or self-government, and "democracy," as Charles Borgeaud has said, "is more than a form of government; it is a state of society toward which all contemporary nations are tending by a seemingly inevitable law of evolution."

The literary movement began some seven or eight years ago, and two or three years before there was any educational propaganda or political movement. It is curious how the same ideas seem to strike men entirely unknown to each

other. They come spontaneously, a growth of the time. This is seen both in the literary and political movement for Direct Legislation. In 1888, Boyd Winchester, then United States Minister at the Swiss capital, began to write on Swiss institutions, and it culminated in his book published in 1891. In 1889, Prof. Bernard Moses published his essay on "The Federal Government of Switzerland," and Sir F. O. Adams and C. D. Cunningham their book, which was followed in 1891 by J. M. Vincent's scholarly "State and Federal Government in Switzerland," and since there have been many others.

In 1890, W. D. McCrackan sent a series of letters on the Initiative and Referendum to the *Evening Post* of New York City, and followed it with articles in the ARENA, *Atlantic*, *New England Magazine*, and other periodicals, and with lectures given in many places. Mr. McCrackan is a prolific and agreeable writer and an entertaining speaker, and while he has not entered the propaganda in politics where alone Direct Legislation can be achieved, he has given scholarly thought and literary energy to it which have been very valuable in the formation of the movement, and has reached a class of people which otherwise might not be numbered among the supporters of Direct Legislation.

J. W. Sullivan began to collect data relative to direct Legislation in 1883, and in 1888 went to Switzerland to study it on the ground. He spent four months there interviewing men and getting facts. In the spring of 1889 he published a series of letters on it in the *New York Times*, and in May, 1889, he had an article on "The Referendum in Switzerland" in the *Chautauquan Magazine*. This was followed in March, 1892, by the publication of his book "Direct Legislation," the third edition of which, completing the eighteenth thousand, has just come from the press of the *Coming Nation*. Ample material has been collected to make a book three times the size, which would have reposed serenely in libraries and been occasionally referred to; but the author deemed it best for the purposes of immediate circulation to give the gist of the subject in compact form at a cheap price. It has only one hundred and twenty pages, and was published first at twenty-five cents and now at ten cents. With its compact, clear statements and complete review of the field, it has done more in this country to crystallize and give definiteness of aim to the sentiment of the really democratic leaders (not leaders of



1. ELTWEED POMEROY.
3. HON. THOMAS MCEWAN, JR.

2. WM. A. COTTER.
4. J. W. ARROWSMITH.

the Democratic party) than any other one thing. It made converts, and they spread its circulation. A thousand copies were sold in one lump in Oregon, three hundred went to Montana, five hundred to Kansas, and many in hundreds to clubs and individuals. Mr. Wayland of the *Coming Nation* sold a thousand, and another person paid for the free distribu-

tion of two thousand. "Fewbooks," says the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, "have done more good in this century."



J. W. SULLIVAN.

Mr. Sullivan followed it up with lectures, articles in periodicals, and in his editorial work on a reform newspaper. In 1894 he started the *Direct Legislation Record*, a little monthly which he defined as "A non-partisan advocate of pure democracy." This

he issued with marked ability for nearly a year, when the writer took it up, and since it has been issued quarterly, with an occasional extra number. This little magazine, in gathering and preserving proposed laws and constitutional amendments, in recording its progress, and in stating arguments for it, has given the movement stability and strength. It is a repository of fact, an assistance to the thoughtful and scientific, rather than a means for popular propaganda.

The labor organizations, being almost of necessity conducted on democratic lines, were good fields for educational work. Uriah Stevens, the wise founder of the Knights of Labor, at its start proposed a thorough and carefully wrought out referendum for its government. Since 1882 the general executive board have asked opinions from the local assemblies, and the decision to enter upon independent political action was made by vote in response to a circular of the General Master Workman. In 1891 Master Workman Powderly

recommended that the referendum be adopted in political government, and shortly after such a plank was inserted in the Knights of Labor preamble.

Many of the trades unions are successfully using Direct Legislation, and in 1891 ten of the largest national and international unions with a membership then close on to two hundred thousand were using it; others have adopted it since. From 1892 it was the only political demand of the American Federation of Labor until 1894, when others were added. But it has been repeatedly and emphatically indorsed by this large and powerful though thoroughly democratic organization. Samuel Gompers, its president, is a firm believer and assists wherever he can, and at times his assistance has been very valuable. He only needs to be notified when and where to speak, when he comes, if possible. The same is true of the other officers of the Federation.



SAMUEL GOMPERS.

But this stand was largely influenced by Mr. Sullivan, who has been identified with the Typographical Union for years and has also been a national lecturer of the American Federation of Labor. He has aided in the political work in New Jersey and New York and elsewhere. One of his best contributions to the movement has been the popularization of the name, Direct Legislation. At

first it was generally known as Initiative and Referendum, which have an alien sound. Direct Legislation is more comprehensive, including the town meeting as well, and it expresses the meaning of the movement better.

The Farmers' Alliance has been behind the other large labor organizations, as for two or three years its Supreme

Council only passed resolutions favoring discussion of Direct Legislation. But at the Washington meeting last winter an emphatically worded demand for it was inserted in their platform.

Outside of some curiously interesting but not fully known experiments in methods of legislation in New England and Pennsylvania in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there has been no political movement in this country for the Initiative and Referendum proper until 1891 and 1892. Previous to



GEORGE H. STROBELL.

this, in 1882, Benjamin Urner of Elizabeth, N. J., who had been defeated in an election by bribery, started a short-lived paper which actively advocated the Initiative and Referendum. It was thus known and agitated among reformers in New Jersey before the literary movement, which did not begin till six or seven years later. But the seed then planted evidently needed the facts, figures, and arguments furnished by the articles and books of later date before it could germinate. But it is odd that the starters of it in 1892 did not know of Sullivan's book which had just come out.

Early in 1892 a few gentlemen met in Newark, N. J., and organized the People's Power League. The three main movers were J. W. Arrowsmith, George W. Hopping, and Henry A. Beckmeyer. On April 19, 1892, George H. Strobell introduced resolutions calling for Direct Legislation, at the Prohibitionist State Convention held at Trenton,

N. J. They were tabled, but were the first Direct Legislation resolutions in any political convention in this country outside of the Direct Legislation plank in the Socialist Labor party platform, which cannot be said to have been adopted in this country, as it was taken in a mass with many other things from the foreign platform where it was put mainly through the work of Charles Burkly of Zurich. The Socialist organizations have done nothing to promote Direct Legislation in America, but, on the contrary, have deemed it inadvisable to help in its advancement lest attention might be diverted from the movement for the co-operative commonwealth. Mr. Strobell has since done some valuable work, particularly in Christian Endeavor and Prohibitionist circles.

The People's Power League was turned into the People's Union, which drafted a law and constitutional amendment and circulated many tracts and pamphlets. In January, 1893, this was merged into the Direct Legislation League of New Jersey.

Though a number of earnest men had come in, yet the main moving spirit was J. W. Arrowsmith, a far-sighted manager, a deliberate and forceful speaker, and an able pamphleteer. He was president of the People's Union, and could have had the same office in the League which followed it if he had not thought it wiser to put other men forward. His voice has often been heard in legislative halls and on the stump, and his pen is familiar to readers of reform papers. His latest pamphlet, "The Social Democracy Programme," published last fall, is a particularly valuable plea for a union on and an argument for Direct Legislation. He is the first Vice-President of the League and actively at work.

In July, 1893, a permanent organization was formed for the League, with William A. Cotter as president. Mr. Cotter brought to this work the trained knowledge of an experienced lawyer, and his services in drafting the amendment to the Constitution of New Jersey, which has since been copied in many other States, and later in addresses and honest legislative lobbying, have been invaluable.

The legislative work began in the winter of 1894, when the amendment was introduced by Hon. Thomas McEwan, Jr., a Republican elected from a Democratic district and of so high a character that he was made the leader of his party on election without any previous legislative experience. He

was ably seconded by Hon. William Harrigan, the Democratic leader. Special hearings were given, but when it came to a vote the measure was defeated by Republicans, all but one of the Democrats voting for it. The bosses in power had seen that it would overthrow them. But it had a close vote, twenty-eight to thirty-one. It was the cheapest propaganda yet devised, as the hearings and speeches were reported all over the State.

In the summer of 1894 the League organized and held a valuable and widely noticed convention at Asbury Park. An amendment was introduced in 1895, but not allowed to come out of committee. But the agitation was not even barren of laws, as the Referendum was attached to several important bills. The new parks of Essex County (appropriation of \$2,500,000), the increase of the pay of the firemen and policemen of Newark, all came about through a vote by the people obtained by a Direct Legislation member, Hon. George L. Smith.

Mr. McEwan has been promoted by the people from the State Legislature to Congress, still being elected as a Republican from a Democratic district, and he has introduced in the House a resolution for a committee of inquiry on the application of Direct Legislation to the federal government. But such a mild thing as a committee of inquiry has not been granted by the autocrat whose permission is necessary even for recognition to speak. Mr. McEwan is ably filling the very difficult position of an honest man who thinks in politics, and in one of the old parties.

Out of the many others in the New Jersey work, only one more can be mentioned. Joseph R. Buchanan of Newark, N. J., held the floor for two hours in the platform committee at the Omaha convention in 1892, pleading for the insertion of Direct Legislation in the People's Party platform. He finally secured a resolution favoring it.

But New Jersey is not the only State that has moved. In 1894, Edgar L. Ryder pushed through the Assembly at Albany, N. Y., a bill giving Direct Legislation to cities, but it did not go through the Senate. A constitutional provision, very elaborately drawn, was urged at a special hearing on the Constitutional Convention of 1894, by Samuel Gompers, J. W. Sullivan, Clarence Ladd-Davis, Henry White, and others. In 1895, through the energy of Miss Florence Fairview, a constitutional amendment went through the Senate and had

enough members pledged to vote for it in the Assembly, but was held up by Speaker Fish on the last day of the session.

In Massachusetts, Hon. Richard W. Irwin, backed by the labor organizations of Boston and Haverhill with Harry Lloyd and Frank K. Foster at their head, secured the passage of the city bill in the lower house by a vote of one hundred and fifty to three, but it did not pass the Senate. In 1895 the same bill did not get out of committee, although every political party—there were five organizations—in the State had for two years had a demand for the Referendum in their platforms. But Mr. Irwin, who has now gone from the House into the Senate, is still urging it and doing magnificent work.



RICHARD W. IRWIN.

Meanwhile a group of men acting independently had started Initiative and Referendum Leagues in 1894, in South Dakota and Kansas, and they were followed in 1895 by Direct Legislation Leagues in Michigan, Nebraska, and Colorado, and constitutional amendments had been introduced in these States, in Kansas and Colorado passing one house. John R. Morrissey of the Detroit Typographical Union was the first voice crying almost alone in Michigan; but there is an efficient league there now. Hon. J. Warner Mills of Denver ably drafted the Colorado amendment, which has some novel and effective features. The entire reform press in that State, led by the *Denver News*, advocates Direct Legislation.

A constitutional amendment was introduced in Washington by the Hon. L. E. Rader, and received strong support. And last fall, by a voluntary arrangement, the town of Buckley, Wash., put the Initiative and Referendum into actual use.

In Oregon, W. S. U'Ren has been the mainspring of the movement, and in the winter of 1895 was employed as the legislative agent of all the labor organizations in the State to work at the capital for Direct Legislation. He came within one vote in the House and a tie in the Senate of getting what he wanted. He wrote recently :

"We are sure of success soon. No great reform ever made such great strides before. Two years and two months ago not one man in a thousand in Oregon knew what Initiative and Referendum meant. To-day I believe three fourths of the intelligent voters understand and favor this revolution."

Mr. U'Ren is an active, devoted, and able worker.

A curious development of the Oregon movement is for the voluntary Initiative and Referendum. Candidates for legislative offices are not nominated till they have signed a



W. S. U'REN.

pledge that they will pass and refer to the people interested, for the final enacting, any law which is petitioned for by ten per centum of the people, and that they will refer to the people any law which they may pass, for which there is a petition signed by ten per centum of the people. They are preparing to apply this to both State and local matters, and desire to extend it to national affairs.

The Oregon associated societies which Mr. U'Ren has served have circulated seventy thousand pamphlets in English

and German, presented a petition to the Legislature signed by thirteen thousand people, and secured the indorsements of the People's and Democratic parties' State conventions and many Republican county conventions.

In California, F. J. Eddy has written ably and frequently and has perhaps been its most prominent advocate. Assemblyman Bledsoe urged an amendment in 1895. S. E. Moffett, editor of the San Francisco *Examiner*, has written repeatedly

on it, and in 1894 published his book, "Suggestions on Government," which is almost an ideal argument. And the city of Alameda has actually put an advisory Initiative and Referendum into operation, the result of the first vote at the polls being to advise the city council to build a public library at a cost of \$25,000.

The reform press on the coast is unanimously in favor of it, and several of the papers have gotten out special Direct Legislation editions which have had large circulations.

Space forbids but one more notice, and that one is of the first bill actually drawn and introduced. It was done in 1891 by S. C. Whitwam at Guthrie, Oklahoma, and was a creative act of his own. It did not pass, but he has been fighting for it since with ever-increasing chances of success. All causes have their pioneer heroes, and quite unconsciously Mr. Whitwam writes:



F. J. EDDY.

"I am talking Referendum every night in the week the year around. Our country is poor, and during the summer I have camped on the open prairie without shelter, many nights. I carry a half of a fifty-pound flour sack filled with biscuits, slung over my shoulder, and my pony and I share these; and the next legislature will pass my bill or a better."

Several semi-secret but political societies have started with Direct Legislation as their basis. One of these, the Peers of Kosmos, was begun in Pennsylvania a quarter of a century ago, and in their declaration, revised in 1889, there is a very clear demand for the Initiative and Referendum. Another, the Ancient Order of Loyal Americans, started in Michigan in 1893, has branches in many States, and is particularly strong in its birthplace and in Oklahoma; and a third, the F. P. S. F., has quickly spread over Washington and into Oregon.

There are not wanting indications that the wily political managers of the old parties, with the editors of the old-party

papers, are willing to steal the reformers' thunder with regard to Direct Legislation. As a matter of fact the reference of bills by legislative bodies is becoming more and more frequent. Notable recent instances have been the rapid transit and city consolidation bills in New York and the civil service and the Torrens Title Registry System in Chicago.

Again, the word "Referendum" is constantly in the daily papers, so that the reader must be far behind the times who is not familiar with the term.

The course of the New York *Sun* has been significant. Their leading book reviewer, surveying the movement as a



S. C. WHITWAM.

philosopher, gave Mr. Sullivan's "Direct Legislation" such a notice as is accorded only to books of unusual importance—one of four columns. The funny editor of the *Sun*, however, saw something to ridicule when the New Jersey movement started. But to-day the *Sun's* news column headings contain the word "Referendum" on every occasion possible. The paper has accepted the Referendum as in operation now as democratic, American, and practicable.

Many other reform movements are merging into this Direct Legislation movement. While the silver men, the fiat money man, the sound money man, the civil service reformer, the civic reformer, the socialist, the prohibitionist, the single taxer, etc., may each think his own special reform the most important and needed, they are all beginning to see that they cannot even get a hearing without Direct Legislation. So that it is the first thing to get,—not necessarily the most important, but the first. It is thus proving a real bond of union between heretofore warring economic beliefs.

In every reform platform constructed nowadays, anywhere in the United States, Direct Legislation is one of the foremost planks, if not the foremost.

There is already out a call for a national Direct Legislation Conference, which has been numerously signed by men of thought and action. Here it is:

We, the undersigned, unite to call a Direct Legislation National Conference to be opened at St. Louis, Mo., on the morning of July 21, 1896. This Conference is called to secure:

First. In all future platforms, municipal and local, as well as State and national, the strongest possible Direct Legislation declaration.

Second. The widest possible discussion of Direct Legislation.

Third. A union of reform forces, local or national, for the same candidates, but without necessarily giving up their separate organizations or distinctive issues and platforms, providing each organization thus uniting places at the head of its platform the following to be followed by its other demands:

"We demand Direct Legislation through the Initiative and the Referendum in local, State, and national government. We advocate the following, but are willing to submit these or any other questions advocated by a reasonable minority to a vote of the people interested, and to abide by their decision until the people themselves reverse it."

Perhaps this summer may register another great advance. Such a union would be. It is worth working for. Possibly it may be postponed. History alone can tell.

This rapid and necessarily incomplete survey of the field shows at least one thing. This movement is not the work of one man or of one group of men. Its genesis is that of a true democratic movement arising spontaneously in many parts of the country. It is caused by conditions which have been growing progressively worse for the last quarter century. These conditions are economic, but are caused by the irresponsibility, corruption, and imbecility of legislative action. This is being more and more widely and deeply recognized. The movement has men who voice it, but not a man or men who make it. If it had it might stop with their defeat or discouragement. But its present leaders might be swept out of existence to-morrow, when the movement would be delayed but not stopped, — perhaps in the long run not delayed much.

Its growth has been so rapid that some of us fear it may not be solid. But such forget that while the outward movement has only recently spread over all the country saving some of the old southern slave States, — and there are signs of an awakening even in them, — yet the inner desire for power in the hands of the people themselves is coexistent with the founding of our social system, and has grown with its growth, and the disgust with the legislative action and inaction has been becoming more intense during a quarter of a century.

"History," says Prof. Herron, "is the progressive disclosure of the self-government of man as the providential design." And a not far-distant time will see the inevitable accomplishment of this Direct Legislation movement.

THE LAND OF THE NOONDAY SUN.—MEXICO IN MID-WINTER.

BY WALTER CLARK, LL. D., OF SUPREME BENCH OF NORTH
CAROLINA.

In Mexico, exactly as in this country, the money in circulation is paper and silver, and in both countries in about the same proportions. In



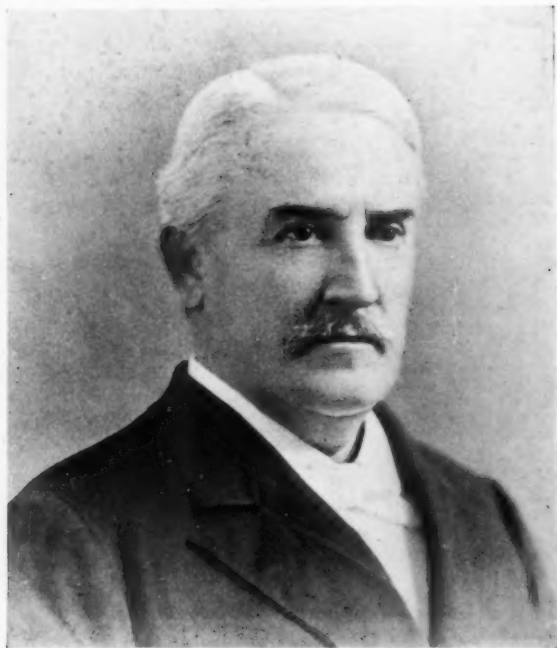
MEXICAN GIRL AMONG WHAT ARE CALLED THE
MIDDLE CLASS.

neither is a gold dollar often seen by the masses or used in the ordinary transactions of life. The sole difference between the currency of the two countries is that in Mexico gold and silver remain still, as formerly, the money of redemption, and hence prices of all things remain as formerly, while in the United States, half the money of redemption having been struck down, the value of the dollar has doubled, with the necessary effect that fixed charges, like debts, public and private, and interest thereon, taxes, salaries, railroad passenger and freight rates, etc., though nominally the same, have in effect doubled, while those things which



PORFIRIO DIAZ, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO.

have to buy dollars, as produce, labor, etc., have decreased. Produce is half its former prices, while labor has had need for all its organizations and efforts to prevent falling quite so far when, in fact, owing to natural development, labor in this country should have advanced, as it is doing to some extent in Mexico. On both sides of the Rio Grande, paper and silver are intrinsically of the same value, and till we demonetized silver, were exchanged between the two countries at par. That one of our paper or silver dollars is now exchangeable for two of theirs, is due to the fact that our money of redemption is only half the volume it was when the currency of the two countries — paper and silver — was at par, our redemption money being now practically gold only, instead of gold and silver as at that time. To undo the surreptitious act of 1873 would



EX-GOVERNOR THOMAS T. CRITTENDEN, CONSUL-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES TO MEXICO.

be to place this country, as to prices, where it stood before that act. We have an object lesson of that unmistakable import in the fact that in Mexico, where the standard of redemption has remained gold *and* silver, cotton brings sixteen to eighteen cents, and wheat and corn \$1.25, and fixed charges like debts, taxes, and railroad rates have not gone up. Gold does not circulate there in the ordinary transactions of life, nor does it do so here. That it is the standard of value and not the metal that causes the appreciation of our dollar, is proven by the fact that our silver dollar is worth as much there as our gold dollar.

The magnificent climate of Mexico should attract thousands of people to spend the winter there, as it is superior, immeasurably, to the south of France and the Riviera. If the Mexican railroad companies would copy the example of the English railways and erect and run their own hotels at each important city, travel would increase tenfold. It is a



A MEXICAN BELLE.

great inducement to travellers, especially in a foreign country, to be able to get off the train directly into a first-class hotel, owned and managed by the railroad, without having to inquire for a good hotel or to bother with a hack. These hotels have proven a fine investment for English railways, as they would for those in Mexico.

Artesian wells are not infrequent in Mexico, and furnish excellent water. In some places aqueducts are still used, notably at Queretaro, where there is an aqueduct five miles long passing through the valley on tall arches, many of them one hundred feet high, resembling those in the Campagna around Rome.

While "the reform" in Mexico, which overthrew the

power of the Catholic Church and confiscated its entire property, was not religious, but economic and democratic, there was a necessity that its leaders should have an association into which no devout Catholic could enter, — into which the church itself forbids them to enter, — hence it is said to be a fact that, almost without exception, every holder of an office of any importance in the whole country is a Freemason.

Bull fights have too often been described to enter into details here. They have been occasionally suppressed, first in one place and then another, to be afterward permitted again and again. But there is a public sentiment gradually growing up against the custom; and while ladies of the better classes still attend, I was told that there was a marked diminution in their numbers.



A MEXICAN PEASANT GIRL.

The bull rings are built like the old Roman amphitheatres, round as a circle, with seats rising rank after rank. As in ancient Rome, seats on the shady side bring far more than on the sunny side, and in the latter seats, of course, are to be found the populace. The bull has no chance from the beginning, and the matadores and picadores run small danger. The horses are always wretched beasts, and are ridden with their eyes bandaged, and are purposely turned so that they may receive the sharp

horns of the bull. The men take care to keep their own eyes open, and are very rarely hurt. They carry a red flag to infuriate the bull to charge, and as he always shuts his eyes to do so, they nimbly step aside, and he strikes only the

flag. It is said that these men will not dare to tackle a cow, for, feminine like, she always keeps her eyes open. Six bulls killed complete the entertainment. Most people who go from this country to Mexico probably attend one bull fight, and one is enough. I witnessed the exhibition at the Bucarelli ring in the city of Mexico near the Belen Gate. One of the novelties to be seen is the horse racing at night by electric light at the Indianilla race track near the city. At some of the theatres they have a plan of charging a *real* (twelve and one-half cents) for each act, and as there are usually five and the burlesque afterpiece, one who cares to see it all pays seventy-five cents. Thus one who does not like the play, pays for the acts he sees and quits, and those coming in late only pay for as many acts as they attend. Where the seat is more than seventy-five cents, it is at the same rate of one sixth of the whole charge for each act. While this custom is a convenience to the audience, it is said that it pays the management also, as many go who would not be willing to pay for a whole evening without knowing that they would be pleased.

The hearses are run on the street-car track, and not infrequently are followed by a long line of street-cars for the friends and relatives. Necessarily, however, they make as good time going out to a cemetery as in returning. Our habit of going out slowly and returning rapidly is, of course, simply *our* custom — that is all.

While Mexico preceded us forty odd years in placing the abolition of slavery in its Constitution, and has also anticipated us by incorporating provisions for the election of the Federal Senators and Supreme Court judges by the people, it has only recently adopted a constitutional amendment, which is to go into effect July 1, abolishing the *alcabala*, or tariff between the several States. Repeated efforts have been made in this direction, but unsuccessfully till now, when the increased railway traffic has made it a necessity. Of course the cars have never stopped to pay duties at State lines, but the interstate tariff dues were added to the freight. Another bad feature in the Mexican economic system is that land pays a very light tax, in some States perhaps none, and in all very much less than its fair share. As a rule unimproved land pays no tax whatever, with the result that land in Mexico is held in large tracts, the number of landowners in the republic being only some thirty-five thousand. As a class they

have been powerful enough to prevent any change so far, but the prosperity of the country demands it, and when a fair share of taxation is put upon the land, and especially when the taxation upon unimproved realty is made heavy enough, the *haciendas* will perforce be divided up, the ownership of the soil will pass, as it did in France after the great Revolution, into the hands of the people, and Mexico will add the cap-stone to the wise measures which are building up the country. At present few of the owners of the great *haciendas* reside upon them, and the revenues of these estates are spent in the large cities or abroad, to the detriment of the country districts.

The law against carrying concealed weapons is not a dead letter there as it is in parts of the United States, but is strictly enforced; hence a traveller in Mexico at first is astonished at the number of pistols carried buckled around the waist. The reason is, the wearers dare not carry them in any other way. As a rule at the hotels the chamber-maids are men. The bedsteads are generally of iron, and the bowls and pitchers are very light, being sheet-iron enamelled, or something of the kind, and imported from Germany. In each hotel a large blackboard is fastened in the wall of the clerk's office giving the number of each room, after which is always written in chalk the name of its temporary occupant, and a glance at this board saves inquiry of the clerk. The old prejudice that 13 is an unlucky number still lingers in Mexico, as is shown by these blackboards, on which "No. 13" never appears, but the space between 12 and 14 is usually filled by "X" or "50" or "100." Of course a traveller can follow his own wishes as to his meals, for the hotels are all kept on what is known in this country as the "European plan;" but if he conforms to the Mexican custom he will find it to be the same as in France or Italy; *i. e.*, the first meal, *almuerzo*, generally consists only of coffee and a little bread. Between twelve and two is a somewhat heavier meal — *comida*; and about six is the meal of the day — *la cena*. Butter is rare, and when made in the country is very poor. I met some Americans who, with the quick wit of our countrymen, have seen the opening and have gone down there to engage in the dairy business. From twelve to two the stores and places of business, as a rule, even in the city of Mexico, are shut up and a placard, "*Cerrado*" (*i. e.*, closed), is hung on the door. The places of business are far

more generally closed up on Sundays than in most European countries, outside of the British Isles, and indeed on Sunday afternoons the closing is almost universal.

On the high plateau on which the city of Mexico stands meat will dry up, but it will not spoil or mould. Droughts are a great loss to some sections, for places can be found where scarcely any rain has fallen for three or four years past. The best remedy for this, of course, is to reforest the land; for in ancient times it is said to have been well wooded, but now, except in the mountains, the great central plateau is almost as devoid of trees as the country from Omaha to Cheyenne, or the Llano Estacado of Texas. The *tierra templada* has plentiful showers, and it is there that the coffee trees grow. They require a warmer climate than the great central plateau, and plenty of rain, but have to be sheltered from the sun, which is done by planting other and larger trees or bananas among them. The Mexican coffee is very superior, and indeed by competent judges is said to equal the best Mocha. In Mexico all the trees are, properly speaking, evergreens.

Oranges are equal to the best Florida, and in good seasons they sell at the *haciendas* six for a cent, American money. There are American firms down there, notably on the line to Guadalajara, who buy up the produce of entire *haciendas*. They then carefully box the fruit, wrapping each orange separately in tissue paper, and ship by carload or trainload to Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, etc., and manage to get very low through rates. At nearly every street corner is a vender who sells sugar-cane at a *centavo* (Mexican cent) for each cane, and they always do a thriving business with passers-by, especially with the children. One peculiarity of the maguey plant is that if the central bulb is cut out overnight the volatilization is such that even in this climate, where frost never comes, ice will form. The principle is the same as that used in the more scientific American ice-machines, which are now in use all over Mexico.

Whiskey and brandy are unknown, except when imported. The maguey, or century plant, furnishes the mild, unfermented drink which wells up in the plant when the bulb is cut, and which is called *pulqué*. There are also distilled drinks made from that, or from the roots of certain plants, which are known as *mescal*, *tequila*, etc.

Mexico has been called the "Land of *Mañana*," which is the not unfrequent reply made to an application. Literally,

mañana means to-morrow, or in the morning, but practically when you are promised anything *mañana*, it means "some time, by and by—in the sweet by and by." But railroads are changing this easy-going life and these indolent customs, and are introducing movement and vigor and punctuality here as elsewhere. When railroads were first introduced, there was of course considerable opposition, but it has all died out. I heard of only one man who was still declaring they had "ruined the country," and he was the owner of a stage and freight line which had been recently displaced by the opening of a new railroad. He was like a certain party in Raleigh, N. C., soon after the war, who was complaining to Gen. Miles, now commander-in-chief of the United States army, but then commanding the post of Raleigh, that emancipation had forever ruined the South. The general tried to reassure him by asserting that in a few years the South would be more prosperous than ever, and would itself rejoice that emancipation had taken place. This party insisted so strenuously that his business at least was hopelessly ruined, that the general asked what it was, and ascertained that he had been a dealer in slaves. The Mexican stage line owner was fully as irreconcilable.

Postage between points in Mexico is five cents on letters, two cents on postal cards, and one cent on newspapers, and the rate of postage to the United States is the same, while postage rates from the United States to Mexico are likewise the same as our internal postage—two cents for letters and one cent on postal cards and newspapers. The post office in Mexico operates the telegraph as a part of the postal system. This is true of all countries except the United States, Hawaii, and Honduras. We in the United States are kept in subjection to the enormous tolls levied upon us by the telegraph monopoly, solely through its influence with a large part of the daily press, whose interest it is to keep down competition in telegraphic news, and by an expensive lobby maintained in Washington, which furnishes every senator and member of Congress willing to accept them with books of telegraphic franks. One of the first reforms should be to make the telegraph and telephone an integral part of our postal system, with telephones at every country post office, and a uniform five, or ten, cent telegraph or telephone rate throughout the country. It pays the government and is a blessing to the people in all other countries, and would be so with us also.

Mexico is now offering great opportunities to capitalists, and the number of Americans settling in the country or investing there is evidence that our people are alive to the fact. It is not yet a country for the laboring man, for the reason that the land, as I have said, is still in large holdings, and the price of labor has always been low, though somewhat advancing. As their dollar has not enhanced in value, there have at least been no strikes to prevent "cuts" in wages as with us. The yield of all crops is large, and in the *tierra caliente* I saw corn crops which had simply been planted by making a hole in the ground and covering the seed with the foot, and never worked. The weeds and corn come up together, and the corn makes forty to fifty bushels to the acre. Three crops a year can be raised thus, the sole labor being the planting and harvesting. Humboldt, in his "Cosmos," estimates the average yield of wheat in France as six-fold, and in Mexico as twenty-two for one. Minerals of every kind are abundant, of course, in a country seamed and furrowed with mountains. Pueblo is known as the "onyx" town, and Queretaro as the "opal" town. The latter place has four cotton factories, one of which, the "Hercules," has nearly or quite two thousand employees. This factory is run both by steam and water, and its steel overshot wheel is said to be the largest in the world.

The church bells are numerous and large, and are rung by being turned over by hand, which is easily done, as the bell's weight is exactly balanced by wood. When not being rung, the bells hang with the mouth part uppermost. In some towns, as Guadalajara, all the church bells seem to be rung every half hour. The cabs in the city of Mexico are divided into three classes, designated by little colored tin flags which they carry. The blue flag rates are \$1.50 per hour, or seventy-five cents per passenger; red flag, \$1 per hour, or fifty cents per passenger; and yellow flag, fifty cents per hour. The street-cars are first and second; the first class are painted buff, and the others green. The street lines also carry freight cars, box and flat cars, cars for sheep and goats, and "special" cars are also to be hired. Besides these, as already said, are the funeral cars with a raised dais and catafalque beneath a four-post canopy, surmounted by a cross and painted black or white. The street railway system of the city of Mexico has one hundred and sixty miles of track, five locomotives, twenty-six hundred mules and horses,

three hundred passenger cars and thirty funeral cars, besides freight cars. Last year it carried eighteen million passengers, besides freight. The entire system with its equipment has very recently been sold to two Americans for about \$8,000,000. They propose to increase the investment by extensions and putting in electricity to a total of \$20,000,000. It is to be regretted that the depression caused here by our financial system forces such large quantities of American capital and such enterprise to seek investment in a foreign country. As large as this transaction is, it is but a small part of the amounts annually going from this country to seek profitable employment in a more prosperous one.

The markets in the Mexican towns are large and roomy and well filled, especially with tropical vegetables and fruits. They are well worth visiting in every town. In passing through the canals of the floating gardens or Chinampas, as we were being rowed along, a couple of young girls, evidently fresh from the country, were so overcome by curiosity that, entirely unconscious to themselves, they stared at our party of foreigners. Staring at strangers is exceedingly unusual, for the Mexicans are by nature a very polite people. To recall them from their absentmindedness, one of the party remarked loud enough for the girls to hear, "*Muchaca bonita*" (pretty girl). Instantly the old man, evidently of the very lowest class, but with the instincts of a gentleman, with great deference suggestively said in an undertone, "*Muchacas bonitas*" (pretty girls). The amendment was adopted, and the startled look of pleasure which surprised their faces showed that human nature is much the same in all climes, the snowy and the sunny. The old man did not want one of the girls to go away thinking that only the other was handsome.

The washerwomen in this sunny, pleasant clime do their washing out of doors, and may be seen at their occupation at every river's marge and rivulet brink as the train whirls by. Tobacco is much used, and the country furnishes a fine quality, but there are no pipes and no chewing. Cigars are called *puros*, and cigarettes are *cigarros*. Not a few of the hotels were formerly convents, as these institutions have been rigorously suppressed. Bicycles are becoming as common as with us, and this country of perpetual spring, with many months in which no rain falls, must become some day a paradise for cycling tourists. It is interesting always to notice foreign customs. The men embrace on meeting each other

as on the continent of Europe, and it is amusing to see two fat men put their arms around each other, and each patting his friend on the back. When an elderly lady kisses a young lady, if she kisses her on one cheek you may know the latter is married, but if she kisses her on both cheeks she is still single.

President Diaz, who was for a while a widower, in recent years has married a most charming and popular young lady, the daughter of Señor Rubio, now lately dead, who had formerly been a political opponent, but who after this alliance took a seat in his son-in-law's cabinet. Señora Diaz is exceedingly popular all over Mexico.

The Spanish pronunciation in detail would require a grammar, but in general it may be said that *a* is *ah*, *e* is *a*, *i* is *ee*, *o* is broad *o*, and *u* is *oo*. *Hu* is *w*, *ju* is *wh*, *j* is *h*, *h* is silent, double *l* is *y*, and *g* before *e* and *i* is *h*. Unlike French, in which no syllable is accented and in which, according to the French Academy, on an average two fifths of the letters on a page are silent, in Spanish every syllable is pronounced and there is an accent on some syllable, generally the next to the last, and this stress is more decided than in English, being in many cases almost a drawl on the accented syllable. As a curiosity the pronunciation of the names of several of the towns is here given, the accented syllable being in italics. Mexico is *Meh'eco*; Aguas Calientes is *Ah-was Cali-en'tas*; Catorce is *Kay-tor'see*; Guanajuato is *Wah-na-what'to*; Guadalajara is *Ward-ly-har'rer*; Guaymas is *Wye-mas'*; Jalapa is *Ha-lap'per*; Lagos is *Lah'gos*; Leon is *Lay-own'*; Morelia is *Mo-ray'lya*; Queretaro is *Kay-ret'aro*; Oaxaca is *O-ah-hack'er*; Orizaba is *Oree-zah'bah*; San Luis Potosi is *San Lu'ees Poto-see'*; San Miguel de Allende is *San Me-gil' day Ajen'dy*; Tampico is *Tam-pee'co*; Torreon is *Torry-own'*; Tula is *Too'la*; Zacatecas is *Zaky-tay'cas*. Sometimes the meaning of a word depends on which syllable is accented, as *pa'pa* means a potato, while *papa'*, with the accent on the last syllable, means father.

While the Mexican leaders were wise enough and patriotic enough to save their country from the tortures and depression of the gold standard and falling prices which we have had to endure, many years ago when they funded their foreign debt (about \$180,000,000) gold and silver were at par, and not anticipating any attempt to demonetize the latter in order to double the value of the former, they unwisely consented that the interest on this foreign debt—as a matter of convenience—should be made payable in London and in gold. They

did not know there was any *inconvenience* in it then, but they have found it out now, as, like our own debtors and taxpayers, they are paying double what should be justly paid. It is just like contracting for ten thousand bushels of wheat and then doubling the size of the bushel. Mexico has about \$100,000,000 of other debt created more recently, but, taught by experience, this is payable, like our debt, in coin, and their Secretary of the Treasury, unlike ours, pays the government creditors in coin of the same value as that in which the debt was created, and interest on this debt is paid in the same money in which taxpayers have just received \$1.25 per bushel for their corn or wheat and fifteen to eighteen cents per pound for their cotton.

The railroads reflect the prosperity of the country and show steady increase in receipts, though their rates (owing to the enhancement in the value of our currency) are practically half what ours are. To take one railroad as an example. The receipts of the Mexican Central, which were \$3,550,000 in 1885, were nearly doubled five years later, being in 1890 \$6,425,000. This rose to \$8,450,000 in 1894, and last year added over a million to that, the receipts for 1895 of this one railway being \$9,496,000. The railroad station houses throughout Mexico are in the best style and many are very handsome, and plats ornamented with flowers and tropical plants are frequent.

These random observations have been thrown together, as they may possibly serve to amuse or interest some of your readers. Before giving some idea of the parts of the country I visited on my return, as will now be done, I may add that Americans will find it agreeable and very pleasant, if they can find friends to introduce them, to visit the American Club, just opposite the Iturbide Hotel. Our countrymen who frequent there, and especially those who maintain the club, are a fine type of men. The two dailies printed in English, the *Mexican Herald* and the *Two Republics*, are abreast in every respect with the dailies in our large cities, and are edited by gentlemen of the first order of ability. It is a sure sign of the numbers and wealth of the American population in the country that two dailies of the highest grade can be maintained. The United States Consul-General is ex-Gov. T. T. Crittenden of Missouri, who is exceedingly popular with Americans, whether residing in Mexico or merely visiting the country. Judge Sepúlveda, our Secretary of Legation

and President of the American Club, was formerly a judge of the Superior Court in California, though he has now resided many years in the Mexican capital. He also is very courteous and much liked. Our country is fortunate, far more fortunate than some European capitals which might be readily named, in having such representatives as these gentlemen. Minister Ransom was absent in the United States on leave during the period of my visit, so I did not meet him.

One of the pleasantest short excursions from the city of Mexico is due south to Cuernavaca. The railroad which is in process of construction to Acapulco, on the Pacific, is only completed as yet to Tres Marias, just below the summit of the mountain range, whence the journey to Cuernavaca is made by stage. This might be called the "battlefield route," as the railroad passes out by Chapultepec, through the fields of Casa Mata, Molino del Rey, Padierna, and Contreras, and within a short distance of Cherubusco, which is in full view. After leaving Contreras the track constantly climbs the mountains, giving at every turn a magnificent view of the valley of Mexico with its seven lakes, the castle-crowned hill of Chapultepec, the great city itself with its steeples and domes, and the scores of villages dotting the plain. At La Cima we have attained a height of nearly ten thousand feet, and begin to descend the Pacific slope. At Tres Marias we leave the cars and take a stage for Cuernavaca. A glorious view it is in this cloudless clime to see the valley spread for miles and miles before you and thousands of feet below, dotted with villages and *haciendas*, and the capital of the State in the centre foreground. We went down with four horses, we came back drawn by ten, and we saw some railway construction wagons which were being drawn by eighteen horses. This will be a great railway when it is completed through to Acapulco. The Interoceanic, already completed from Vera Cruz by way of the city of Mexico to Yauhtepec, is also stretching out to Acapulco, so there will soon be two lines from the capital to that port. The Guadalajara branch of the Central is also under process of construction to another port on the Pacific. Cuernavaca is a quaint old town as yet untouched by railroads. It has its grand old churches, and the castle in which Cortez lived in the midst of his princely land grant, and commanding a lovely view of mountains and valley. He lived here when no longer permitted to reside near the capital. Cortez was a good business man, as well

as conqueror; for he not only picked out and had the choicest lands granted to him, but he owned many of the most eligible corner lots in the capital, including that on which the government buildings now stand. But it is impossible not to recall that his name is unhonored by any memorial in the country of his triumphs, while in the Paseo the grand statue of his victim, the last Aztec emperor, Guatemozin, proudly lifts his hands and head to heaven. So true is it that "the victor has his day, but the victim has all eternity." And if some one shall say, What good shall it do him? it may be replied, Did not the victor fight that he might be remembered after death, and did he not struggle for fame,

"That fancied life in another's breath,
Which is beyond us, even in our death"?

And of Cortez, as of another and a haughtier name, it may well be said:

"Who would soar the polar height
To set in such a starless night"?

Here too are memorials of Maximilian and Carlotta in the lovely garden of La Borda, and the little "House in the Woods" where they attempted to rusticate in their "Little Trianon." The Indian name of the town was Quahnaahuac, meaning "where the eagle stops." This the more prosaic Spaniard has corrupted into Cuernavaca, which signifies "cow horn."

Having come into Mexico by the Mexican Central, when I got back to the capital I left for home over the shortest route, the Mexican National. Albeit a narrow gauge, it makes excellent time. The scenery is grand as we climb the mountain, leaving city and villages and gleaming lakes and glistening streams far below us. The transparent atmosphere, the cloudless skies, the exhilaration of the ozone in this perfect climate make one almost believe he is swimming through the air. And beyond, silent, unchanging, stand the sentinels of the land, the snow-crowned summits of the monarchs of the mountains. At eleven thousand feet elevation we cross the mountain and descend toward Toluca, on our way passing along the breast of the precipice a thousand feet almost directly over the red-tiled roofs of the village of Ocoyoacac. Toluca is the capital of the State of Mexico, a most interesting town of twenty-five thousand inhabitants, and one of the cleanest in the world. It is only three hours' run from the capital and is much visited. At

Acambaro we turn off from the main line for a run to Patzcuaro, over the western division, which will some day be completed to the Pacific at Manzanillo. We pass through the city of Morelia, one of the prettiest cities in all Mexico. Its beautiful plaza, magnificent cathedral, grand Paseo, aqueduct, and the Causeway of Guadeloupe would be attractions enough even if it did not have the most perfect of climates. Patzcuaro station is the terminus of the railway, and is on the lake of that name, the town being two miles away. On the lake is a steamer visiting port after port on its shores, like a humming bird passing from flower to flower. In one of these villages, in the old church at Tzintzunzan, is a famous painting by Titian, "The Entombment," which was presented by Philip II. of Spain. Fifty thousand dollars has been recently offered for this picture and was refused. Not far off is Uruapan, famous as producing the best coffee in Mexico. This State (Michoacan) and Jalisco just north of it (whose capital is Guadalajara) have the most perfect climates to be found in Mexico, or indeed probably in the world. The combination of lake and mountains, always beautiful, is nowhere more so than here.

Returning to the main line at Acambaro, we again proceed northward, crossing the Central at Celaya, the "candy" town, and passing through Dolores, whose parish priest, Hidalgo, began the war of independence in 1810; then on past town and hamlet, river and mountain, till we reach San Luis Potosi, three hundred and sixty-two miles from the capital. This is a city of over seventy thousand inhabitants and is the capital of the State of that name. It lies in the midst of a great level, fertile plain stretching away to mountains that are filled with silver and gold. It has many interesting buildings, the State capitol, the cathedral, the library and museum with one hundred thousand volumes, the State college, etc. It has several factories, and the street-car lines run out to the neighboring villages. On a Sunday afternoon I was strolling through the streets of this city of nearly seventy-five thousand people among whom I knew not a single human being, when on turning a corner I heard music which at once arrested attention. It was a well-known hymn of Charles Wesley which had come across the deep waters and many a vanished year to be anthemed beneath the shadow of cathedral towers on the great central plains of Mexico. Could the voices be traced, there I should surely find friends

and countrymen. As I proceeded the music floated out full and free, and, falling upon the quick fading twilight, "smoothed the raven down of darkness till it smiled." I found the band of worshippers and their beloved leader, a Methodist missionary who is devoting his life to the work which he has found to his hand in this great field. Only when straying in a foreign land does one know the strong bond of sympathy that lies in the accents of one's native tongue. The Protestant missions in Mexico are active and fairly successful. There is absolute freedom of worship, and all religions are protected. There is no State church, in which respect, at least, Mexico is in advance of England, Scotland, France, and many other countries.

The Tampico branch of the Mexican Central crossing the line of the National here goes down to Tampico. It is claimed by many that the scenery in the six thousand feet of descent to the *tierra caliente* over this line is more magnificent than between the capital and Vera Cruz. It is certainly very grand, but is entirely of a different kind. The descent to the coast is by terraces. In the first forty-seven miles we fall fifteen hundred feet. Further on, at the mouth of the great Tamasopo Cañon, you seem to have gotten to the "jumping-off place," for you can see the rails as they begin to bend downward. For seventeen miles you roll down by gravity, with every brake on to hold the train back, with the mountains rising on both hands thousands of feet above you, and between them the cañon opens a thousand feet below you. At one point is the "Devil's Backbone," a great spine of rough granite extending up the mountain, and reminding one of the "Devil's Slide" in the Wahsatch Valley on the Union Pacific. After passing out of the cañon and while descending the mountain, our track so turns and winds that at one point six tracks are seen. At the mouth of the cañon is the striking succession of waterfalls known as El Salto del Abra. Along here are the coffee groves, then a little lower we reach the *hot lands*, the "*tierra caliente*," and, rolling along the banks of the broad river Panuco, are soon at Tampico. This is in appearance the least inviting town in the Republic. It is dirty and untidy, many of the houses are of wood (a very rare thing in Mexico), and rains are frequent. But six miles further down, at the mouth of the river, are the jetties, which have given the port already twenty-six feet of water up to the wharves, and will give three or four feet

more. This will make it *the* port of the country, for Vera Cruz cannot compete with this, and already a railroad is contemplated between the city of Mexico and Tampico. Near here I found an American who already, in January, was shipping tomatoes by the carload to Chicago and Cincinnati. From Tampico it is three hundred and twenty-one miles over the Mexican and Gulf Railway to Monterey. In building this railway some of the cross ties, cut in the adjacent forest, were of ebony, as on the Tehuantepec Railroad some of them are mahogany. Monterey is only some one hundred and sixty-eight miles from the Rio Grande, and has a colony of several thousand Americans. The appreciation in our standard of value amounts to a protective tariff in favor of Mexico of the difference between our currency and theirs of over ninety per cent. As a consequence, instead of shipping ores as formerly to the United States, large smelters have been put up here, and are doing a fine business. The "Saddle Back" Mountain, the Bishop's Palace, and other places are redolent with memories of the fighting days of a half century ago. It was here that Gen. Worth, instead of charging up the streets, with the frightful losses sustained by our other columns, hit upon the plan Marshal Lannes had adopted at the siege of Saragossa in 1810, and cut his way through house after house to the central Plaza, and thus compelled a surrender.

Through a desire to visit the battlefield of Buena Vista, I turned back southward and ran down to Saltillo, seventy-five miles through a most picturesque succession of mountain cliffs. Though the railroad runs near to the famous battlefield, there is no station there, and it was necessary to stop at Saltillo and go six miles out by private conveyance. The Mexican War began, as is well known, in a contest for the little strip of land between the Nueces and the Rio Grande, Mexico claiming the former river as a boundary, and the United States the latter. Texas declared her independence in 1835, and after several battles made it good by the victory of San Jacinto, in 1836, when Santa Anna, the president of Mexico, and commanding its armies, was captured. For ten years Texas was an independent nation, till she joined this country by treaty. The boundary question then became our quarrel. After winning the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, on this side of the Rio Grande, Gen. Taylor boldly advanced into Mexico and captured Monterey with the Mexican army defending it. He then proceeded

to Saltillo, some two hundred and fifty miles south of the Rio Grande, when he was deprived of all of his army, except less than five thousand volunteers, that they might be sent as re-enforcements to Gen. Scott, who was to land at Vera Cruz to march on the capital. Suddenly Gen. Taylor was notified that Santa Anna with some twenty-two thousand men was advancing upon him. That general had conceived the soldier-like idea of falling upon Taylor's reduced army and after crushing it to hurry back and meet Scott. Though he failed to crush Taylor, he in fact got back and fought Scott with the same troops at Cerro Gordo, below Jalapa, and among the cannon taken by us at Contreras were two which had been captured from Taylor at Buena Vista. On hearing of the enemy's advance, Gen. Taylor, instead of waiting to be besieged in Saltillo, moved forward to a mountain pass — *Angostura*, or "the narrows," which is the Mexican name for the battle, while we give it the name of Buena Vista, from a *hacienda*, or cluster of farm buildings, in rear of our lines, which is still standing. Thus during our late war nearly every battlefield had a different name given it by the opposing sides, and Waterloo, which is known by that name to the English, is known as Mont St. Jean to the French, and La Belle Alliance to the Germans. The accounts of battles, as well as their names, depend much upon the standpoint from which they are viewed. Had there been any doubt of Gen. Taylor's splendid ability as a soldier, his choice of a battlefield stands to this day a proof that he understood his profession. A deep *barranca* or gulley running through the middle of the narrow plain makes it impossible to pass from one side to the other. On the left (facing south), running well out into the plain, is a long, very steep ridge, barring the passage except for a short distance between the end of the ridge and the *barranca*. This ridge was crowned with artillery, and breast-works were thrown up. Here, if anywhere, his four thousand seven hundred volunteers could hold in check Santa Anna's twenty-two thousand. The conflict took place on Feb. 22 and 23, 1847. The only hope possible for the Mexicans was to break through our lines on the extreme left at the foot of the mountain, and to take us in the rear by a force passing through a gap some miles further on near Saltillo. Both attempts were made, and twice the battle seemed lost. Col. Bowles' Second Indiana, which was broken by the enemy's

masses, in their flight ran squarely into the enemy's column, which, having come through the pass, had taken us in reverse. One account says that it was the utter *abandon* of these fugitives in running into them, and which the Mexicans mistook for a most reckless charge, which put this flanking column in our rear to flight. However that may be, there was enough gallant fighting and bloodshed on both sides. The Americans had the decided advantage in position, and they held it by a close margin. Santa Anna hurried back to meet Gen. Scott coming up on the line from Vera Cruz. The fight at Buena Vista made Gen. Taylor President of the United States. He was a splendid soldier and a man of strong common sense, though his opponents called him "an old frontier colonel," and it was said that in all his life he had never cast a ballot. The same battle made his second in command, Gen. Joseph H. Lane, later a candidate for Vice-President, and gave to Col. Jefferson Davis, Gen. Taylor's son-in-law, the prestige which carried him into the United States Senate, made him United States Secretary of War, and finally President of the Southern Confederacy; while Gen. Taylor's remark to the captain of a battery, "Give them a little more grape, Captain Bragg," started a popularity which culminated in putting the latter in command of the Confederate Army of the West, in which position his marked incapacity and defects enabled him to damage the Confederacy more than any general that ever was opposed to him. These are a very few of the things effected by holding these few rods of ground, a result which long swung evenly in the balance, and which might have been changed by some accident of slight import, for great events often depend on very small ones. The battle, which, from the numbers of Americans engaged, would have been of small importance a little over a dozen years later, at the time created an immense sensation. Among the triumphal poetry written was that by Albert Pike, beginning:

"From the Rio Grande's waters to the icy lakes of Maine,
Let all exult, for we have met the enemy again!
Beneath his stern old mountains we've met him in his pride,
And rolled from Buena Vista back the battle's bloody tide."

Among the dead fallen on this field few were more regretted than the gallant young Lieut.-Col. Henry Clay of Kentucky, son of the "Great Harry of the West." All through this war the Mexicans fought well. It would

derogate from the truth of history and the glory of our own army to deny this. But they were torn by civil war among themselves, and their finances were broken down, and too many of their generals were merely prominent politicians. Could President Polk have succeeded in his effort to supersede Gen. Scott with a politician, — an able man, but not a trained soldier, Thomas H. Benton, — no one can tell what would have been the result. As it was, our two armies were commanded by our two ablest and best trained generals. So great were the dissensions among the Mexicans that after the capture of the city of Mexico it was difficult to ascertain exactly with whom to make peace. This was signed at Guadeloupe-Hidalgo (two miles north of the city of Mexico), which is noted as the place of the apparition of the Virgin. At the same spot Santa Anna, who was five times president or dictator and thrice exiled, and who had belonged in turn to all parties, reposes in the quiet of the grave after his restless life. By our two treaties with Mexico we obtained over half of the former territory of that country, paying twenty-five millions of dollars, however, for it, apparently then a poor bargain, for the ceded territory at that time was not much more than waste land — we had previously acquired Texas. The subsequent discovery of gold in California, the advent of railroads, and the energy and talent of the incoming American population have absolutely transformed the annexed territory and made it the splendid country it is to-day. At the time it was apparently a poor return for the blood and treasure spent in the war, exclusive of the purchase money. Indeed, even now the one hundred and fifty miles of Mexico next to the United States is its most unpromising and least inviting territory. No one who has not passed beyond the northern tier of Mexican States can have any idea of the scenery, climate, or resources of the country, which steadily improves as one goes southward.

Returning by way of Monterey, a run of two hundred and fifty miles brought me to the Rio Grande at Laredo. The river, which is crossed on a handsome steel bridge with stone pillars, is of course very much larger here than at El Paso, where I had passed over it on my entrance into the country. The frontier at Laredo is eight hundred and forty miles from the city of Mexico, and at El Paso it is one thousand two hundred and twenty-four miles.

A tour to Mexico will correct many preconceived opinions

of that country. There can also be seen the effect of money being maintained at its old value, not doubled (as with us) by legislative manipulation. If it be said that Mexico is still inferior to us in many things, then the greater is the just condemnation of the men who by their financial policy have made us so inferior in prosperity. If it be said that Mexican laborers are paid less than ours, the answer is, How much worse would have been their condition if Mexico had listened to the agents of the Rothschilds as we did and reduced cotton from sixteen cents per pound to seven cents? And we may also ask how much better off the wealth producers of this country would have been if we also had repulsed the same tempter, and for the last dozen years or more our farmers, like those in Mexico, had been paying their debts and taxes by selling cotton at fourteen to twenty cents, and wheat and corn at \$1 to \$1.50 according to the season.

From Laredo I passed through the Nueces section, the original bone of contention between the two countries, and then, crossing the Nueces, on to San Antonio. Here the historic Alamo still stands, in which one hundred and eighty-five Texans held at bay Santa Anna with four thousand troops. The latter at last took the fort, but not one defender was left alive. The grand but simple lines engraved on the building tell the heroic story:

"Thermopylae had its messenger of defeat — the Alamo had none."

It was midnight when I boarded the east-bound train for New Orleans, as it rolled out into the boundless plains and beneath the darkened skies flecked with the countless worlds which shed their light on ours.

Power, which is "ever stealing from the many to the few," has with us already passed into the hands of the consolidated capital of the country, but, as in all such cases, the forms and fiction of a republic remain to deceive the people, while the actual exercise of power is in the hands of the plutocracy. The middle class is being destroyed, the farmers are gradually being changed into peasantry, the lower class is enlarging. Can the people be aroused to stop this before it is too late?

A visit to Mexico shows the great prosperity which rewards a country which refuses to change its standard of value in order to double the debts and taxes of the masses, and to divide the prices of produce that thereby the property of

bondholders and millionnaires may be doubled. It shows, too, the prosperity which will come to us if we shall be wise and strong enough to revert to that financial system under which we were prosperous and from which we should never have departed.

Will we, can we, undo the wrong? As the long train rolled eastward in the darkness there was the assured conviction that it would meet the sun in its glory; so may it not be that as this great orb of ours rolls eastward, amid the gloom of our financial night, it too will meet the light of the coming day, and that

“Under the whitening wind of the future
There rolls the wave of the world”?

ADIOS.

A NATIONAL PLATFORM FOR THE AMERICAN INDEPENDENTS OF 1896.

PROPOSED BY MR. WILLIAM P. ST. JOHN.
(PRESIDENT OF THE MERCANTILE NATIONAL BANK, NEW YORK.)

Leaving the domestic affairs of the several States to those party organizations already occupied therewith, and believing that the Senate of the United States is quick to respond to the clearly expressed will of the people, we confine our present attempt to the election of the President, Vice-President, and Representatives in Congress on the following demands :

FIRST. (a) That the mints of the United States shall be reopened to equally unrestricted coinage for gold and silver into the unlimited legal-tender money of the United States : the gold to issue in the present standard gold coins, and the silver to issue in the present standard silver dollars. (b) Depositors of the gold or silver at the mint to receive in lieu of coin, if they prefer, at the coining value thereof, coin-certificates which shall be redeemed on demand in gold or silver coin at the option and according to the convenience of the United States. (c) And as a safeguard against panic and money stringency the Secretary of the Treasury shall be empowered to issue such coin-certificates additionally against deposits of interest-bearing bonds of the United States, the interest accruing on the bonds to inure to the United States pending their re-exchange for the coin-certificates, which coin-certificates when returned shall be cancelled: provided that such additional issues of coin-certificates shall not reduce the percentage of coin and bullion reserved for coin-certificates and silver-certificates below sixty per cent of the aggregate sum of coin-certificates and silver-certificates outstanding. The now outstanding silver-certificates, gold-certificates, and Treasury notes of 1890 to be retired as they come into the Treasury.

This (a) is free coinage at 16 to 1, the convenient coin-certificate (b) to take the place of gold-certificates, silver-certificates and Treasury notes of 1890. The safeguard (c) would provide for a temporary increase of \$300,000,000 of paper money against the silver on hand in the Treasury April 1.

SECOND. The threatened competition with our Southern cotton mills of those of China and Japan, the increasing importations of long-stapled Egyptian in competition with our Sea Island cotton, and the ill effects of the abrogation of the tariff on wool along with the reduction in the tariff on woollen manufactures combine to evidence the fact that the time has not arrived to abandon an adequate protective tariff system in vain pursuit of the phantom of free trade.

The effect of the wool schedule of the Wilson Bill has been to enrich the European manufacturer at the expense of our domestic manufacturer and enlarge the European market for foreign wools while lessening our home market for our domestic wools, occasioning an advance of two cents a pound for Port Phillip (Australian) wool in London, while unwashed Ohio wool has declined eleven cents a pound in Boston and New York; and producing such a depression of our home manufactures as has caused a reduction in wages of operatives and threatens to throw this branch of domestic labor out of all employment.

We are, therefore, opposed to opening our home market of seventy millions of consumers to the foreigner on any pretence of procuring thereby a foreign market for the productions of the United States. But we shall exact of our manufacturers that they accord to labor a liberal and more continuously certain share of the protection accorded them; and that the tariff devised shall afford also a protection to the farmer and the planter, and provide sufficient revenues for the necessary expenditures of government.

This second demand meets the requirement of the great mass of American labor, to whom McKinley threatens to become the embodiment of the protective tariff. While my reports from all sections, including the new South, are overwhelmingly in favor of protection, comparatively few manufacturers favor the restoration of the McKinley tariff.

THIRD. We demand the application of the principle defined as the Initiative and Referendum to all national legislation which involves any radical change in public policy.

A test of this principle, thus restricted to any radical change in public policy, seems warranted by the practice of Switzerland. The test may commend a broadening of the restriction, if found practicable. "*Should the great trunk lines of railway become a possession of the Government?*" would seem to be such a radical change in public policy as might wisely be referred to the people.

FOURTH. We condemn Clevelandism utterly; that debauching of legislators with patronage to achieve legisla-

tion opposed to the will of the people is a vicious prostitution of Executive influence, which we shall denounce as bitterly if it be the practice of an Executive elected as a Republican as when the practice of one elected as a Democrat.

If all who have become distrustful of old parties and tired of boss rule will unite in these demands and nominate, on this platform, some man of such achievements as commend him to the conservative element of the country, and who is not a seeker after the preferment, he can be elected in the approaching campaign to the Presidency of the United States.

If the Democratic platform demands the reopening of the mints to silver, as now seems likely, all the powers of the Democratic (?) Administration will be used to compass the defeat of the Democratic candidate. The prosperity to accrue to the people under the adoption of that policy would put in shameful contrast the current results of the Administration's policy.

If the Republican platform demands, unequivocally, the reopening of the mints to silver, the Democratic platform will necessarily demand the same, and the contest will be narrowed thereby to a protective tariff against free trade.

WILLIAM P. ST. JOHN.

THE TELEGRAPH MONOPOLY.

BY PROF. FRANK PARSONS.

VI.

EVILS OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM (*continued*).

The ninth evil of our telegraphic system is *discrimination*. We have already spoken of the Western Union's unjust distinctions as to wages in the case of men doing the same work, and of its absurd discrimination against women *en masse*.¹ We have now to discuss its injurious discriminations against certain persons and localities and in favor of others in respect to rates and service.

Sometimes the discrimination takes the form of refusing to render certain services to certain persons. For example, a merchant who is a member of the exchange can send a message four or five hundred miles from New York to Bradford in the oil region for ten cents and get an immediate reply, but a merchant who is not a member of the exchange cannot obtain any such service; he must go to another office and pay twenty-five cents and wait an hour or two for his answer.² Sometimes the company refuses to receive any messages at all from certain persons or for certain persons,³ or declines to allow certain messages to go over its wires.⁴

¹ The managers say that a man is paid more than a woman for the same work because a man needs more. He may get married and have a family to support. As a matter of fact, however, such considerations have nothing to do with Western Union policy. No difference is made between the salaries of married and unmarried men. Under present conditions a worker should not be paid less than the worth of her work simply because her need may be less. If the burdens of the worker were the guide, many an unmarried man and woman and many a married woman has quite as much need of good pay to support those dependent upon him or her as could ever occur in the case of a married man. If the Western Union really pay with a view to the requirements of married life, why is it that they pay so little that even their male operators cannot, as a rule, afford to marry, as we have seen is the case? The fact is that Western Union wages are simply auction prices for labor depressed as much as the buyer is able, and women, having home support of some degree in a greater number of cases than men, are able to sell their time for less than the average for men.

² Sen. Rep. 577, part II., pp. 59, 63.

³ H. Rep. 125, 43-2, p. 11.

⁴ Congressional Record, 1875, vol. III., p. 1422, where Mr. Albright tells how a committee (of which he was a member) sent to gather testimony at the South found it impossible to telegraph the facts to the North.

At other times the discrimination consists in delay,⁵ confinement of market reports or other news to a few favored individuals for an hour or two, transmission by devious routes, violations of the true order of transmission, unjust distinctions as to rates, giving rebates to favored individuals,⁶ persecuting others to compel their submission to the telegraph managers or punish them for a personal difference, etc.

Mr. D. H. Craig tells of a case in which the telegraph managers took up a personal quarrel and gave orders not to send C's messages until some time after rival reports had been forwarded. And C had to establish a horse express to carry his messages, with a loss of five hours' time and serious expense. The news came regularly from abroad, and as soon as the steamer was signalled at Halifax "one of the telegraph lines was conveniently out of order, and the operator on the other was ordered to send me the Bible and continue till the arrival of my horse express" (five hours).⁷

The Washburn committee reported that "rules of precedence in the transmission of messages are systematically disregarded by the leading American company."⁸

"Stock exchange business has the right of way over the wires in preference to any communication of a personal or social nature."⁹

The directors and managers of the Western Union are stock speculators and they favor their own class.

"The laws of the United States require the telegraph companies to transmit Government business ahead of every other business, but they never have done it. They did not do it on the Pacific line, and they have not done it on any other telegraph line. A message known as C. N. D. (the commercial news department) has precedence over everything else."¹⁰

An operator's testimony given to the Henderson committee informs us that "the Western Union favors one class of business and wilfully neglects to do justice to another. Cer-

⁵ "To delay a telegram which, in the words of the Western Union Company itself, 'from its very nature requires instant transmission and delivery,' is no less a crime than to rob or delay the mail, and yet it is the constant and daily practice of the company aforesaid." H. Rep. 114, p. 11.

⁶ Rebates amounting to twenty, twenty five, and even fifty per cent have been given by the telegraph companies to influential business men in times of competition. Bingham Com. p. 23, testimony of A. B. Chandler, president of the Postal Telegraph Company.

⁷ Blair Com. vol. II., p. 1279.

⁸ H. Rep. 114, p. 10.

⁹ Wanamaker, 1890, p. 223.

¹⁰ Bingham Com., Testimony of Victor Rosewater, a former Western Union manager, p. 5.

tain business, mostly brokers' messages, has special rights over everything else. The operator who is sending death messages, messages that summon children to the bedside of dying parents, or transacts legitimate business of merchants and manufacturers, is often obliged to lay them aside in order that the wires may be used for the business of a trust, a monopoly, or a ring of speculators."¹¹ "The discrimination between the messages of different customers both as to rates and order of transmission" was classed by Postmaster General Creswell among the four great and growing evils of the private telegraph. He prepared tables of existing telegraph charges, and declared that "the tables show most clearly the inequality and discriminating character of the American tariffs as opposed to the generally uniform rates of Europe."¹² The Ramsey committee also tabulated Western Union rates, and showed that very unequal charges were made for equal distances, and subject to very similar conditions except in respect to competition.¹³ Similar inequalities exist to-day, though less in degree on the whole than formerly. A ten-cent rate is allowed in some cases for a service that costs twenty-five and fifty cents or more in other cases. A telegraph company, like a railway, can by arranging its tariff do much to send business to a town or city and aid its growth, or to keep trade away and hinder its development as may happen to suit the interest or caprice of the managers.

Victor Rosewater, testifying before the Bingham committee in 1890, about the rates when he was manager of the Western Union at Omaha, spoke as follows:

"While our rates from Omaha to San Francisco were never higher than \$3 for a ten-word message, our rates to Denver were \$4.50. Omaha to San Francisco, 1,700 miles, rate, \$3; Omaha to New York, 1,400 miles, rate, \$5.65; from Omaha to Chicago, 500 miles, we charged \$3.55; from Council Bluffs to Chicago, a distance only five miles less than from Omaha to Chicago, we charged \$1.55, a difference of \$2 on

¹¹ I. T. U. Hearings, p. 5.

¹² Creswell's Rep. Nov. 15, 1872. Wan. 1890, pp. 155, 156.

¹³ Sen. Rep. 18 and Sen. Rep. 242, 42-3, p. 9.

The first states that the

Rate from Washington to Boston was	\$0.55
" " " " Waltham, 10 miles out of Boston.....	1.75
" " " " Chicago.....	1.75
" " " " Geneva, 40 miles from Chicago	3.00

The second report shows very uneven charges for nearly equal distances.

Washington to New York and Williamsport, 40 cts. and 75 cts.	
" " Wheeling, Albany, and Parkersburg, 30 cts., 80 cts., and \$1.00.	
" " Indianapolis, Bangor, and Grand Haven, 50 cts., 90 cts., and \$1.70.	
" " Memphis, Mobile, and St. Augustine, \$1.25, \$2.50, and \$3.50.	

every ten-word message in favor of Council Bluffs. I have known people to get on the stage coach, pay seventy-five cents fare from Omaha across the river to Council Bluffs, and seventy-five cents back, making \$1.50, and still save fifty cents on a ten-word message to Chicago."¹⁴

In his letter favoring public ownership of the telegraph, Cyrus W. Field lays much stress upon the fact that "A government system would prevent unjust discriminations."¹⁵ Mr. Field is the only one of the Western Union directors, so far as I know, who has raised his voice against the company's policy of arbitrarily favoring certain persons and localities at the expense of others. After detailing a flagrant case, he says, "Such an unjust discrimination as this would not be allowed by the government for a day."¹⁶

By means of discrimination in rates or service or both, the telegraph company can turn the tide of business and prosperity toward a locality or an individual, or it can hinder the growth of a city and ruin a tradesman or a newspaper by excessive rates or delaying messages, governing persons and

(Note 13 continued.)

The said second report (242) then proceeds to illustrate the arbitrary character of the whole tariff, as follows:

	District.	Rate.
Washington to Harrisburg	125	\$0.40
" " Philadelphia	140	.35
" " Cumberland	180	.40
" " Williamsport	220	.75
" " New York	230	.40
" " Wheeling	380	.30
" " Wilmington, N. C.	380	1.20
" " Pittsburg	330	.25
" " Boston	460	.55
" " Cincinnati	600	.50
" " Chicago	800	1.00
" " Indianapolis	700	.50
" " St. Louis	940	1.75
" " Memphis	1,050	1.25
" " Des Moines	1,100	2.30
" " St. Augustine	1,000	3.25
New York to Morristown	30	.35
" " Albany	150	.30
" " Boston	230	.30
" " Pittsburg	430	.25
" " Norwich	120	.50
" " Easton	75	.50
" " New Haven	70	.25
" " New Brunswick	32	.25
" " Concord	300	.50
" " Rochester	385	.50

¹⁴ Bingham Com., Rosewater, p. 5.

¹⁵ H. Rep. 114, p. 70.

¹⁶ Ibid.

places somewhat as a railway does by means of freight and passenger rates, the supply or non-supply of cars, and the quickness or delay of transportation.

In Cincinnati some years ago, a Mr. Davis started a bureau of information to keep the merchants posted on the state of the New York markets. He secured many subscribers and worked up a flourishing business. The Western Union saw the value of the enterprise, and established a "Commercial News Bureau" of their own for the purpose of furnishing these same market reports to the various cities throughout the country. They appointed an agent in Cincinnati, offering to take Davis's subscribers off his hands, and pay him a small part of what he was making out of his business. Davis refused, whereupon the Western Union told him they would break up his trade. They did, and Davis sued and got judgment for \$3,000 damages. The evidence was conclusive that the Western Union, while receiving pay regularly from Davis for his despatches, purposely delayed them and sent them by circuitous routes; whereas their own despatches of a similar nature were sent through in advance of all others.¹⁷

A few years ago two papers in San Francisco favored a postal telegraph a little too briskly. Their telegraph rates were raised. One of them died in consequence; the other ceased to publish attacks on the Western Union, and was restored to good fellowship.¹⁸ While Mr. Orton was president of the Western Union, a certain paper criticised some

¹⁷ H. Rep. 114, p. 68. Contrary to their usual self-complacency under all circumstances, the Western Union officers do not seem to enjoy discussing this Davis case, but when it has appeared necessary to do so they have followed their usual custom of varying the facts and contradicting even their own sworn testimony previously given. See H. Rep. 114, p. 100. This News Bureau case is referred to by Mr. Hubbard in Sen. Rep. 577. In the course of his remarks he said: "The Western Union stopped sending his (Davis's) messages on the through line, and transmitted them on a way line. There was no priority for their messages. Oh, no! they only sent them on the through line, while the others went on the way line. Those that went by the way line were longer in getting through, and when received the customers of the Western Union had already received the prices and acted upon them. No priority, only the man was ruined."

¹⁸ Sen. Rep. 577, part II., p. 65. In the case of the *Herald* owned by John Nugent, the rates were raised 122 per cent or from 6.92 cents per word to 15.38 cents a word, while at the same time the rates to other papers were reduced from 2.4 to 1.2 cents a word. Being discriminated against and entirely excluded from the Press Association, he tried to establish news agencies of his own, but the news cost him twenty times as much as it did the *Call* or the *Bulletin*, or the other papers in San Francisco, equal despatches costing him ten to fifteen times as much as was paid by the combined papers in the Associated Press of San Francisco. After losing in this way about \$200,000 in eight months he failed. Sen. Rep. 242, 42-3, p. 4; H. Rep. 125, 43-2, pp. 9, 11; I. T. U. Hearings, 1894, pp. 30, 50, 51.

act of his, and the next day, or the next but one, the rates of that paper were doubled. It ceased to receive any telegraphic despatches because it could not pay for them.¹⁹

Mr. A. P. Swineherd, editor of the *Mining Journal*, Marquette, Mich., wanted to start a daily, — a population of 150,000 people desired a daily, and he wished to supply the need. A daily cannot live without the telegraphic news. Fully aware of this, Mr. Swineherd made an agreement with the Western Union before moving further into his plan. He contracted for 3,500 words each week at \$30 a week and half a cent a word extra. On the strength of this he spent \$5,000 for materials and improvements in preparation for the daily. Then the Western Union refused to fulfil its agreement, telling Mr. Swineherd that he must get his news from the *Associated Press*; if he got it from the *United Press* the telegraph rate would be \$105 a week for 3,500 words. The *Associated Press* when applied to refused to give the service necessary for the paper, and demanded \$1,000 bonus at the start for the service it would give. Mr. Swineherd would gladly have paid this extortion, but the service offered was entirely unavailable, so that his plan had to be abandoned at great loss.²⁰

Lloyd Breeze, the editor of the *Detroit Evening Journal*, testified that he had found it impossible to get into the *Associated Press*, or to obtain the market reports. The best he could get was a contract for special telegraphic news at one half the commercial rate. The result was that he had to pay from six to fifteen times as much for news as other papers did, and employ special correspondents beside. He added that the Western Union could abrogate the contract at any time, thereby compelling him to pay more than double the burdensome telegraph taxes then resting upon him.²¹

This complaint that newspapers are barred out of the *Associated Press*, and so denied the benefit of low rates for telegraphic news, is of frequent occurrence in the congressional investigations. Such news being necessary to a large daily, it follows that the allied monopolies, the Western Union and the *Associated Press*, are able to dictate terms to any one proposing to start a new paper, and can checkmate his enterprise altogether if they wish to do so. They also

¹⁹ Sen. Rep. 577, part II., p. 63.

²⁰ Sen. Rep. 577, part II., p. 279.

²¹ Sen. Rep. 577, part II., p. 283.

have the power to destroy almost any existing daily, except the few that are wealthy enough to stand the drain of discriminating telegraph rates. The said monopolies have not been slow in recognizing their power nor at all abstemious in its exercise.

The International Typographical Union complained at the hearings in 1894 that there was "a tremendous bar in the way of starting newspapers," it being practically impossible to start a daily without the consent of the Western Union and the Press Association, and that the chances were that "any paper attempting to assert its own individual opinion as against the Western Union would suffer for it."²² The Hon. Marion Butler spoke of cases where one paper in a town enjoys a telegraph franchise and the other papers cannot get it. Mr. Quigg of the committee said:

"No doubt about that. To my mind that is one of the greatest evils we have to contend with, the fact that newspapers combine to create press associations, and thereby shut out other newspapers."²³

The final responsibility, however, rests with the Western Union. It is Western Union favor that gives the press associations their power of life and death over so many dailies.²⁴ It is the fact that the Western Union serves a paper *in* the association for a fraction of the price that must be paid for the same service by a paper *not* in the association — it is this fact that enables the press association to control the newspaper field. If the Western Union would stand for fair play and equal rates to all, and make it a part of the press agreement that all papers should receive the news at fair rates without discrimination, the Associated Press would lose its tyrannical power of exclusion. But the Western Union prefers to be a co-conspirator in the building of a press monopoly, because in return for its aid it gains a mighty hold upon the press.

This brings us to the *tenth* evil of our present system of distributing intelligence, viz., the *infringement of the liberty*

²² I. T. U. Hearings, pp. 30-32, 50 *et seq.*

²³ I. T. U., p. 45.

²⁴ "The Western Union discriminates against papers not belonging to the association — the price for the same despatch is at least double if the paper does not belong to the association." (Sen. Rep. 624, 43-2, p. 2.) The division of expense in the Association gives a further advantage of much weight in the cities. The Western Union, if it chose, could secure the equalization of all advantages in respect to the daily news, as stated in the text.

of the press. The Western Union and a number of leading newspapers have formed a sort of double-star monopoly for mutual advantage and protection against competition. The understanding between the telegraph company and the press associations secures to the latter low rates and the power of excluding new papers from the field, and to the former a strong influence upon press despatches, the support of the papers in such associations, and the exclusive right to transmit and sell the market quotations. Besides the force of direct agreement and the powerful motives of mutual support that naturally develop between two individuals or corporations working together year after year with an ever-present consciousness in each of the vital relation to its prosperity that is sustained by the other, — besides all this, the men who run the Western Union control a number of papers directly, and can control others whenever it may be thought best. The Western Union not only has the power of causing serious loss to newspapers that oppose it, — it has millions with which to buy the stock of an obnoxious paper, so capturing the fortress entire and spiking the guns or turning them against its enemies.

In one of the Ramsey reports we read that "The president of the Western Union is a trustee of the New York *Tribune*, which is one of the Associated Press. The publisher and one of the proprietors of the New York *Times* is a director in the Western Union Company."²⁵ Turn back to Part IV. and run over the names of the Western Union directors, and you will begin to realize the tremendous influence over the press that results to the Western Union simply from the summation of the individual influences of its directors. And the Board of Directors is only the head-light, the smoke-stack, and the engineer, — the big locomotive is made up of all the power of the whole body of Western Union stockholders, and its pull is tremendous. When we add to this the power of the company through its control of rates, and its alliance with the Associated Press, it becomes a matter of grateful surprise that so many papers have shown an independent spirit in discussing the telegraph question.

The Washburn committee reported that "the associations themselves, and consequently the newspapers, are completely in the power of the telegraph companies, which can at any moment raise the rates for news telegrams to a par

²⁵ Sen. Rep. 242, 43-1, p. 5.

with those charged for private messages, and thus prevent their transmission almost altogether."²⁶

President Orton testified that the company had a compact with the Associated Press, by which the latter agreed to stand by the Western Union.

Here is a copy of the agreement:²⁷

Contract of Telegraph Company with the Press. [Extract.]

"And said Associated Press agrees, that during the continuance of this agreement they and their agents, and all parties furnished by them with news for publication, and the agents of such parties, shall employ the said telegraph company, exclusively, to transmit to and from all places reached by its lines, all telegraphic messages relating to the news or newspaper business; and that they will not in any way encourage or support any opposition or competing telegraph company."

Private Circular. (Not for Publication.) [Extract.]

CINCINNATI COMMERCIAL OFFICE, April 15, 1867.

To the members of the Western Associated Press:

"Your attention is invited to the clause in our contract with the telegraph company, which forbids us to encourage or support any opposition or competing telegraph company. That clause was to the telegraph company a valuable consideration for the favorable terms upon which they contracted with us."

M. HALSTEAD,

Ex-Com. W. A. Press.

The press of Great Britain appears to have been nearly unanimous in its demand that the government should take control of the telegraph in that country, and have displayed an independence which might be imitated advantageously by some of our leading presses. Though the leading telegraph companies of England threatened the press that their despatches would be stopped in case they did not cease their advocacy of the telegraph bill, they did not cease, but talked stronger and plainer than before. As a specimen of the attempted interference with the freedom of the press, we quote the following from a letter addressed by the superintendent of the telegraph to the proprietor of the Belfast *Whig*, who had advocated the postal bill:²⁸

"The time appears to have arrived when the directors should seriously consider whether the contract with your journal should be continued, and I have no doubt they will come to a decision which may afford you an opportunity of making your own news arrangements on less exorbitant terms."

²⁶ H. Rep. 114, pp. 46, 47.

²⁷ From H. Rep. 114, p. 104; H. Rep. 125, p. 10; I. T. U. Hearings, p. 34; and Sen. Rep. 242, 43-1, p. 3.

²⁸ H. Rep. 114, p. 104.

The English committee, in examining the proprietor, said:²⁸

Question. "So the company had the power, if they wished it, of saying that you should not receive telegraphic news unless you took a particular line in your paper on particular questions?"

Answer. "Yes."

Question. "Is that a condition of things which could be tolerated by the editor of a newspaper?"

Answer. "It is a condition of things that I should not tolerate at any rate, and I should think it would be intolerable to any man of independence."

In the second Ramsey report it is stated that "papers favoring the postal telegraph have subsequently either lost their telegraphic news or been provided with it at a price so high that they could not afford to pay it."²⁹ We have seen that death has sometimes resulted from this bleeding and blistering process prescribed by the Western Union doctors for removing dangerous symptoms of public spirit. Speaking of the feelings of editors who find themselves compelled to silence, complete or partial, the report says:

"These gentlemen have regretted that they were thus controlled by the telegraph company, and that under its constant pressure they could not speak freely."³⁰

Another passage from the same report is too important to omit:

"The operation of a postal telegraph system would result in the speedy termination of this alliance (between the press and the telegraph), and will be a very important step toward the freedom of the press."³¹

D. H. Craig told the Blair committee that "The Western Union and the Press Association work together to ruin a paper that buys news from any competing telegraph line. The editor of the only morning journal in one of the largest interior cities in New York State began to take news from a rival company, and refused to discontinue. The Western Union complained to the Associated Press, and its manager negotiated with the publisher of an evening paper to run a morning edition, pledging him free and exclusive telegraphic press reports for a year. The rebellious editor quickly yielded."³²

The censorship of news established by the Associated Press is clearly contrary to the public good. All Eastern news goes to the agent of the Associated Press in New York

²⁸ H. Rep. 114, pp. 46, 47.

²⁹ Sen. Rep. 242, 43-1, p. 22.

³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 23.

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 5.

³² Blair Com., vol. II., pp. 1279, 1280.

and is "edited" by him to the newspapers of the nation. "This editing consists in selecting such parts as the central officer thinks proper to send out, and in modifying the language, etc.,"³³ to adapt the matter to the use of the press.

Senate Report 624, 1875, contains these significant words:

"The news furnished to every leading and almost every other daily paper comes from one source, and its preparation, wherever it is collected, is under the direct supervision of the agent of the seven associated papers in New York. It is inevitable that the views, opinions, and interests of those seven papers should be expressed through this channel, especially by the full or short reports upon topics they favor or oppose and by the bias of the writer's mind."³⁴

Gardiner G. Hubbard said to the Hill committee:

"The man who rules the Associated Press has an instrument for shaping the opinions of the millions which, by the constancy, universality, and rapidity of its action, defies competition. The events which take place in all business, political, and religious centres, together with the actions of public men and their imputed motives, are all presented simultaneously to the public, from ocean to ocean, through this instrumentality. The agents who collect the news respond to the central authority at New York, and are subject to removal at its pleasure. Here is a power greater than any ever wielded by the French Directory, because in an era when public opinion is omnipotent, it can give, withhold, or color the information which shapes that opinion. It may impart an irresistible power to the caprice of an individual, and the reputation of the ablest and purest public man may be fatally tainted in every town and village of the continent by a midnight despatch. It is incompatible with public safety that such an exclusive power to speak to the whole public in the same moment, upon every subject, and thus to create public opinion, should be under the absolute control of a corporation."³⁵

It is not much trouble for the Western Union to control the engine that carries opinions to millions of men. If it does not hold the lever in its own hand, it is in partnership with the engineer, who is under heavy obligations to it and might be subjected to enormous losses by its displeasure.

Mr. Thurber, representing the National Board of Trade, said to the Bingham committee during a description of a previous discussion of the telegraph question:

"One reason why, perhaps, we have not had a postal telegraph long ago has been the fact of the close relations existing between the Western Union Telegraph Company and the Associated Press, which latter corporation has daily educated public opinion in the opposite direction. Mr. Wiman (a Western Union director who had just spoken) is evidently a fair man. But unless Mr. Wiman sees to it that both sides of this question, as presented here to-day, are sent out with equal fairness over the wires, you may be sure that all the points he has made will go flashing

³³ Sen. Rep. 577, p. 18, testimony of William Henry Smith, manager Associated Press.

³⁴ Sen. Rep. 624, 43-2, p. 3.

³⁵ Sen. Rep. 577, 48-1, testimony, p. 19.

out to all parts of this country, and that all those that have been made against him will find their resting place only in the published proceedings of the National Board of Trade. [Laughter and applause.]³⁶

It was well known that Dr. Green's testimony in behalf of the Western Union had been sent in full to leading papers all over the country *free of charge*, while it was impossible to get anything but very meagre and unsatisfactory reports of the opposing testimony, even on payment of the ordinary press rates. The only way to get such information was to employ a special correspondent and pay special telegraph rates.

When England bought the telegraph a strong effort was made to counteract the effect of the move upon public action on this country. The British post office assumed control Feb. 1, 1870.

"Immediately thereafter efforts were made to discredit the British system in this country, and many were the ocean cable despatches received by the Associated Press and sent to the country by the Western Union Telegraph Company calculated to give an entirely false impression to the public."³⁷

One of these despatches was sent to the secretary of the British post office, and he said, "The cable despatch which you enclosed in your letter is nothing else than a series of malicious exaggerations with the very slightest groundwork of truth in them, strung together for the purpose of damaging your plan" of establishing a postal telegraph in America.³⁸

Not only does the press monopoly select and color the news, it even forbids the papers receiving such news to criticise it.³⁹

"The Associated Press has notified newspapers that they would withhold the news from all papers that criticised such despatches. This power was exercised in the case of the Petersburg Index."⁴⁰

Such an order we might expect from the Czar of Russia, but in America it is astounding, until we remember that a great industrial monopoly and a Czar are next of kin and very like in disposition and methods of action.

Freedom in temperate criticism and the sober expression of honest thought is one of the fundamental and all-important rights of man. No person or corporation should have the power to suppress criticism upon its own conduct or upon any other subject whatever.

³⁶ Bingham committee, Thurber, p. 24.

³⁷ H. Rep. 114, p. 8.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ "The press reports, by the rule of the New York Associated Press, cannot be criticised by any paper receiving them." Sen. Rep. 624, 43-2, p. 3.

⁴⁰ Sen. Rep. 242, 43-1, p. 3, Sen. Rep. 624, 43-2, p. 2, and Sen. Rep. 577, part II., p. 65.

No person or corporation should have the power to mould the daily news, or exclude any paper from printing it on equal terms with its rivals. It is doubtless true that there are too many newspapers already,⁴¹ but the Western Union and the Associated Press are not the proper ones to decide whether or not a new paper shall be started or an old one depart this life. The success of a paper should depend upon its merit, not upon the favor of the Western Union or the assent of other papers.

It is a good thing to gather the news to a central point and edit it to the country. An enormous amount of useless repetition is thereby avoided, and a better distribution of news secured. But very careful provision should be made to insure the impartiality of such editing and distributing. If the association were open to all newspapers on equal terms, and the editor-in-chief were elected by all the newspapers, each casting one vote, and were sworn to impartial service, subject to removal by a vote of dissatisfaction on the part of fifteen or twenty per cent of the constituent papers, — if any paper or papers choosing to pay extra for a special representative could have one entitled to a seat in the editing chamber with full access to all materials received, and authority to add a supplement to the chief's report, to cover important matters omitted or misstated by the chief, — if the report and supplements in full were sent to central points in various parts of the country, set up and sold as plate matter, at uniform rates, to all subscribing papers, — if each and every paper were free to criticise the despatches, — then we should have laid the foundation for a free and impartial press. The very presence of the supplemental editors would probably, as a rule, prevent the necessity of supplemental reports by their potential effect upon the chief's reports.

The first step toward the establishment of an unfettered press is a National Telegraph System carrying the news or

⁴¹ Our helter-skelter competition has given us about one paper to seven hundred voters — in many an Eastern town one to three hundred voters. Co-operation and common sense will doubtless greatly diminish the number in the future. We shall have a paper to represent each great interest as the *Christian Advocate* represents the Methodists, the *Examiner* the Baptists, the *Outlook* the Congregationalists, the *Youth's Companion* the instruction and entertainment of youth, etc. The church papers will probably some time unite into one representative of Christian life. We shall have other papers that represent the thought of great men, as the *Liberator* represented Garrison. But the great mass of local papers that people take to keep on the smooth side of the editors will die the death that sooner or later awaits all rubbish.

renting wires at very low rates on condition of impartial editing and distribution of despatches on some such plan as that outlined above or a better one. The chains of the Allied Monopolies will thus be broken, and the co-ordinate growth of intelligence and co-operation will gradually free the press in larger and larger degree from the limitations placed upon it by ignorance, prejudice, and the strife of competitive business and politics.

I hope the time will come when the news reports in chief and supplemental will be published each day at central points on sheets of uniform size devoted exclusively to condensed and classified statements carefully indexed and divided into sections with black-faced headings. A file of such sheets would constitute a day-book of the world's history free of all extraneous matter. A man could buy the news without purchasing several rods of advertisements, and the cost would probably not exceed twenty-five cents a year to each subscriber. For the local news of towns, bulletin sheets, or, in many cases, bulletin boards would be amply sufficient. Some such organization of the business of distributing news is sure to come because of its inherent economy and its manifest advantages over the infinite confusions, entanglements, and duplications of the present system.

With the growth of co-operation advertising will no longer be a battle of rival wares each seeking to force itself upon the public by the size and multitude of its appeals, but will shrink to the moderate bulk required by its true function of affording information to those upon a quest. The mass of this service will also probably differentiate into a series of bulletins devoted exclusively to advertising.

Freed from the burdens of obtaining, arranging, and printing vast duplications of news and advertisements, the papers will be able to devote themselves to the criticism of men and events, the enlightenment and amusement of mankind, and the moulding of public opinion. Papers would live then, not because they controlled the press despatches or had a large advertising patronage, but because they said something the people wished to hear, because their editors were leaders of thought, selected by the subscribers to represent large co-operative interests as is now the case with the church papers and trade journals, or drawn to the work by their love of it and adopted by a wide constituency because of demonstrated power. In the good time coming

we may hope to get the bulletins of news and advertisements and papers full of the best thoughts of leading thinkers on current events, and all unstained by words we should not wish impressed upon the brain of a lovely child. Why does not some one make a start right now by publishing a daily paper on as high a plane as the *Youth's Companion* weekly, containing the substance of legitimate news, with calm, strong comment, and introduce it into every school in the nation to be read and discussed in a sort of school congress half an hour or so each day? It would do more to teach the boys and girls to think and talk than all the text-books in the world; and growing up on such wholesome food, when they came to be men and women they would demand a clean and honest press,—pardon the digression, it's all a part of the great subject of the distribution of intelligence.

(*To be continued.*)

BIMETALLISM.

BY A. J. UTLEY.

In the discussion of the money question that is now agitating the people throughout the length and breadth of the land, the advocates of gold monometallism insist that we should have money that has "*intrinsic value*;" that the material on which the money stamp is placed should possess an intrinsic value equal to the money value stamped upon it; that gold possesses this property and that silver does not, and for this reason they favor a single gold standard.

Are the premises true? Has gold intrinsic value? If the premises are not true, if gold has no intrinsic value, then some other reason must be assigned for monometallism.

The word intrinsic means internal, inherent, not apparent or accidental, opposed to extrinsic.

Now the fact is, gold has no intrinsic value whatever. All commodities have certain inherent or intrinsic properties which tend to make the particular commodity more or less desirable, and to the extent that such properties influence the desire for their possession, such inherent properties may enhance their value or ratio of exchange, but value itself is independent of and extrinsic from all commodities.

If value were intrinsic, if it were inherent in a thing, it could not change or fluctuate. If the value of gold or silver were inherent in the metal, the same quantity of metal of the same degree of fineness would always be of the same value. In 1873, 371½ grains of pure silver were worth as much in all the markets of the world as 22.2 grains of pure gold. Now they are worth only about one half as much. Is it possible that the intrinsic value of one or both of these metals has changed since 1873? Certainly not. The intrinsic properties of gold and silver are the same now as they were in 1873, as they always have been; but their relative values, when uncontrolled by legislation, are subject to great fluctuations.

Value is a relative term and is necessarily extrinsic. Value is created and controlled by the law of supply and demand. The inherent or intrinsic properties of a thing may

be of such a character as to limit the supply and by limiting the supply may enhance the value; or extrinsic circumstances may increase the demand and by so doing enhance the value; but value always and under all circumstances is determined by the law of supply and demand.

But what say the authorities on this question? Condillac, a celebrated French economist, says:

"The value of a thing is founded on the want of it, or the demand for it. Therefore, if the want is more strongly felt, it gives the thing a greater value; if the want is less felt, it gives it a less value. The value of a thing increases with its scarcity and decreases with its abundance. It may even on account of abundance decrease to nothing. A superfluity, for example, will have no value, if we can make no use of it."

Gide, another French economist, says:

"Value, then, which is the dominating idea of all political economy, denotes nothing more than a fact which, in itself, is very simple, the fact that a thing is more or less desired. Were the word French, we should only have to say value is desirability. Since value arises from desire it proceeds from us rather than from things; as we say nowadays, it is subjective far more than objective. It is not attached to objects which can be perceived; it is born at the moment when desire awakes, and vanishes when it dies out. Like a butterfly, desire flutters from thing to thing, and value abides only where desire rests."

Aristotle defined value as follows:

"Value is not a quality of an object, but an affection of the mind. The sole origin, source, or cause of value is human desire. When there is a demand for things they have value; when the demand increases (the supply remaining the same) the value increases; when the demand decreases the value decreases. When the demand altogether ceases the value is altogether gone."

Prof. Perry, in his work on Political Economy, says:

"A sudden change in the fashion will frequently take away at a stroke one half the value of goods that were fashionable but are so no longer. The matter is all there and the form of the matter is all there, but the value is one half escaped. It is clear that there is no inherent quality called value in anything. Value is the relation of mutual purchase established between two services by their exchange. Value starts in desire, gives birth to efforts, proceeds by estimates, and ends in satisfactions."

Senator Jones, in his great speech delivered in the United States Senate in October, 1893, said:

"Qualities may be said to be inherent in objects, but value being a conception of the mind cannot be intrinsic or inherent. If value were intrinsic, if it resided in an article, it could not be taken from it, and it could not be changed by changes in the number of objects of which value is asserted, or with modifications in the desires of men to become possessed of such articles. Qualities that are inherent do not vary with the shifting degrees of estimation in which they may be held by mankind. Hardness in a stone, gravity in lead do not suffer either augmentation or diminution by reason of any increase or reduction of the appreciation of men. If value were intrinsic in articles it would remain intrinsic whether people wanted them or not. But things can have no economic properties

by and of themselves; those properties exist only because there are people. A thing can have no use unless some one wants to use it; it can have no value unless, in addition to being wanted, some one is willing to incur sacrifice to obtain it."

Prof. Macleod, an eminent English economist, says :

"Value, like distance or an equation, requires two objects. We cannot speak of absolute or intrinsic distance or equality. Single objects cannot be distant or equal. If we are told that an object is distant, or equal, we immediately ask — distant from what? or equal to what? So it is equally clear that a single object cannot have value. We must always ask — value in what? And it is clear that as it is absurd to speak of a single object having absolute or intrinsic distance, or having absolute or intrinsic equality, so it is equally absurd to speak of an object having absolute or intrinsic value."

Barbour, an able writer on economics, who lived about two hundred years ago, said:

"Value is only the price of things; that can never be certain, because to be certain it must at all times and in all places be of the same value; therefore nothing can have intrinsic value. But things have an intrinsic virtue in themselves, which in all places have the same virtue: as the loadstone to attract iron, and the several qualities which belong to herbs and drugs. But these things though they may have great virtue may be of small value or no price according to the place where they are plenty or scarce. Things have no value in themselves: it is opinion and fashion brings them into use and gives them value."

The International Cyclopædia, published in Boston in 1894, defines value as follows:

"Value, in political economy, is one of those terms that demand attention more for the clearing away of its application to vague and fallacious uses than for an attempt to give it a strict scientific definition. It has a distinct meaning only when it is used as 'value in exchange' and between things coexisting in time and place. Two articles each of which will bring \$25 in Boston are equivalent in value there. Cost has nothing to do with value. If a bale of silk costs \$500, and if from disease of the silk-worm the price of the commodity rises so that it will bring \$750, that is its value; so also if there be a fall in price so that it will only bring \$375, that is its value."

Prof. Jevons, in his work on Political Economy, says:

"A student of economics has no hope of ever being clear and correct in his ideas of the science if he thinks of value as at all a *thing* or an *object* or even as anything which lies in a thing or object. Persons are thus led to speak of such a *nonentity as intrinsic value*. There are doubtless qualities inherent in such a substance as gold or iron which influence its value; but the word value, so far as it can be correctly used, merely expresses the circumstance of its exchanging in a certain ratio for some other substance.

"Value in exchange expresses nothing but a ratio, and the term should not be used in any other sense. To speak simply of the value of an ounce of gold is as absurd as to speak of the *ratio of the number seventeen*. What is the ratio of the number seventeen? The question admits of no answer, for there must be another number named in order to make a ratio; and the ratio will differ according to the number suggested."

In a work entitled "Money and Mechanism of Exchange," Prof. Jevons says:

"It has been usual to call the value of the metal contained in coin the

intrinsic value of the coin; but this use of the word *intrinsic* is likely to give rise to fallacious notions concerning value, which is *never* an intrinsic property or existence, but merely a circumstance or external relation."

There are certain properties in gold that make it desirable for certain uses independent of legislation, but gold derives its chief value from the fact that by virtue of law a certain quantity of it may be coined into a dollar and when so coined the dollar is a legal tender and lawful money. If the demand for it as a money metal is increased (as it would be by the demonetization of silver), its value will be increased; while, on the other hand, if gold should be demonetized its value would almost entirely disappear. The stock of gold now in use as money amounts to something more than \$3,500,000,000. There is enough in stock to supply the demand for use in the arts for seventy years. The artisan will not pay much for material that must be kept in stock seventy years before consumption. It is safe to say that if gold should be demonetized, if the fictitious value given it by law should be taken from it, 22.2 grains of gold would not bring ten cents in the markets of the world; that 90 per cent of the present value of gold is fictitious and caused solely by legislation.

I have devoted considerable space to the discussion of the phrase "*intrinsic value*," because it has been so long and so persistently asserted by the money kings, and especially by the gold monometallists, that gold has "*intrinsic value*," that it is a "*standard of value*" and a "*measure of value*," that many people who have made no special study of economics have been and are deceived, and because no man can understand the true character and function of money until he realizes the fact that there is no *intrinsic value* in anything. On account of the importance of a correct understanding of the meaning of the word *value* I was not content with a simple statement of the fact that *value* is a relative term, and could not be *intrinsic* or *inherent* in anything; but I have introduced authorities that prove beyond the possibility of a doubt that there is no *intrinsic value* in the so-called precious metals, and that, consequently, the plea for gold money on account of its supposed *intrinsic value* is fallacious.

It is claimed by the gold-standard men that if we restore to silver its ancient right of free and unlimited coinage the United States would become the dumping-ground of all the cheap silver in the world.

If the United States should restore to silver its ancient right of free and unlimited coinage there would be no cheap silver in the world. The reason why silver is worth less (measured by gold) now than it was in 1873 is because and only because of adverse legislation; and when the laws that discriminate against silver are repealed, silver will resume its ancient place at the ratio existing prior to such adverse legislation.

Men tell us that you cannot legislate value into a thing nor out of a thing, but that value is controlled by the inexorable law of supply and demand. Now, while it is true that value is controlled by the law of supply and demand, it is also true that anything which tends to increase the demand for a thing (the supply remaining the same) must necessarily enhance its value; and if the legislative demand is for the total supply, and if the legislative demand fixes a price at which the total supply will be received, it necessarily follows that the value of the commodity so fixed cannot fall below the price fixed. It might rise temporarily slightly above the legislative limit, but it could not by any possibility fall below it.

In order, however, to have this effect, the legislative demand must be for the total available supply. The reason why the Bland Bill or the Sherman Act did not restore silver to its ancient place as a money metal, at the ratio previously existing between gold and silver, was because the demand was not for the total available supply; and an act to coin the American product, if such an act should be passed, would fail for the same reason.

That legislation does influence values is not only self-evident, it is historic. When the Bland Bill was passed in 1878 (which provided for the coinage of not less than \$2,000,000 worth of silver per month) it created a demand for silver bullion that did not exist prior to its passage, and by reason of this increased demand, caused solely by legislation, silver rapidly advanced in value in all the markets of the world. Again, in 1890, when the United States Senate passed a free-coinage bill, and it was generally understood that it would pass the House, silver bullion rose in value in a few days from 94 cents per ounce to \$1.20 per ounce, not only in the United States, but also in Europe. And when legislation was adverse to silver in India in 1893, silver fell almost as much in value in twenty-four hours. In view of all of these facts

can there be any doubt that legislation did, in the instances named, affect the value of silver bullion?

If silver had free and unlimited coinage at the ratio of 16 to 1 in the United States, silver bullion in this country would be worth \$1.29 per ounce. No one disputes this proposition; it is self-evident. What would it be worth in London, Paris, or Berlin? If the coinage were free and unlimited in the United States and there were no demand in Europe or Asia for this European bullion, it would be worth the mint price in the United States, less the cost of transportation to the United States; there can be no question about it.

Mr. Jevons, in his "Theory of Political Economy," published in 1879, page 137, says:

"The ratio of equivalent weights of silver and gold, which had never before risen much above 16 to 1, commenced to rise in 1874, and was at one time (July, 1876) as high as 22.5 to 1 in the London markets. Though it has since fallen, the ratio continues to be subject to frequent considerable oscillations. The great production of silver in Nevada may contribute somewhat to this extraordinary result, but the principal cause must be the suspension of the French law of the double standard and the demonetization of silver in Germany, Scandinavia, and elsewhere."

Mr. Jevons says the *principal* cause of the divergence in the ratio between gold and silver was the "suspension of the French law of the double standard and the demonetization of silver in Germany, Scandinavia, and elsewhere."

I propose to show that the only cause of the divergence between the metals was the adverse silver legislation in the United States and elsewhere, and that the great production of silver in Nevada had nothing to do with it.

Mr. Laughlin, in his work on Political Economy, publishes a chart by which he shows that the value of the world's production of gold from 1493 to 1850 was \$3,314,550,000, and the value of the silver produced during the same time was \$7,358,450,000, or more than twice as much in value of silver as of gold. From the same chart it appears that the value of the gold produced from 1850 to 1885 was \$4,425,525,000, and that the value of the silver produced during the same time was \$2,397,475,000, only a little more than one half as much in value of silver as gold. During the first period named the ratio between gold and silver was much lower than during the second period. If the amount of the production had a controlling influence or any influence over the value of the bullion, the reverse of this would have been true.

If the legislative demand is for the total available supply

of both gold and silver at a certain ratio, it necessarily follows that, while the value of the metals may fluctuate as compared with commodities, the ratio between the metals will remain unchanged. Of course there will be slight fluctuations arising from local causes. While neither of the metals can fall below the coinage value, either of them may temporarily rise above it on account of some local demand. If silver should rise in value the ratio would fall. If gold should rise in value the ratio would rise. But as soon as the local demand was satisfied the former ratio would be restored. If the rise or fall in either of the metals was general, caused by an abundant yield of the mines or from any other reason, so long as free and unlimited coinage was guaranteed to both metals the metal changing in value would carry the other with it.

In proof of the above proposition, I need only cite the facts shown by Mr. Jevons, that the value of gold fell 46 per cent between 1798 and 1809, and that from 1809 to 1849 it appreciated 145 per cent.

In 1798 the commercial ratio between gold and silver was 15.59 to 1, in 1809 it was 15.96 to 1, and in the mean time gold had fallen in value 46 per cent. If gold had not carried silver down with it, the ratio between gold and silver in 1809 would have been 8.42 to 1. The ratio between gold and silver in 1809 was, as we have seen, 15.96 to 1, in 1849 it was 15.78 to 1, only a trifling fluctuation, but in the mean time gold had appreciated in value 145 per cent. In 1809 15.96 pounds of silver were equal in value to one pound of gold, in 1849 gold had appreciated 145 per cent, and if it had not carried silver up with it, it would have taken, in 1849, 39.68 pounds of silver to buy one pound of gold. But, as a matter of fact, the ratio between gold and silver in 1849 was 15.78, a trifle lower than before the appreciation of gold. Is it not conclusively established from the above facts that a general rise or fall in the value of either of the metals will carry the other with it as long as free and unlimited coinage is guaranteed to both? and is it not necessarily true that the mass of both metals combined would be less liable to serious fluctuation in value than either standing alone would be?

Is it not also conclusively established from the foregoing facts that legislation can, by creating a demand for the total available supply of an article at a fixed price, prevent the article from falling below the price fixed, and that when the

legislative demand is for the total available supply of two metals such as gold and silver, to be used for a common purpose, and a ratio is established at which the total supply will be received, the ratio so fixed between the metals will remain substantially invariable? The metals may rise or fall in value as measured by commodities, but they cannot change in value as measured by each other, except only such slight variations as may be produced by excessive local demands for either of the metals, and such slight variations will be temporary only.

That legislation may establish and maintain any ratio between gold and silver, so long as they both have free and unlimited coinage, and that the ratio established by the country producing the greatest amount or able to control the greatest amount of bullion of either of the metals will have a controlling influence, is a fact well authenticated by history.

The *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. XXII., page 73, says:

"In Spain, by the edict of Medina (1497), the ratio was 10*l*. When America was first plundered the first fruits were gold, not silver; whereupon Spain, in 1546, and before the wealth of the silver mines of Potosi was known, raised the value of gold to 13*½*, and, as Spain then monopolized the supply of the precious metals, the rest of the world was obliged to acquiesce in her valuation. During the following century Portugal obtained such immense quantities of gold from the East Indies, Japan, and Brazil, that the value of her imports of this metal exceeded £3,000,000 a year, whilst those of Spain had dwindled to £500,000 in gold, and had only increased to £2,500,000 in silver. Portugal now governed the ratio, and in 1688 raised the value of gold to sixteen times that of silver. Except during a brief period of forty years this ratio has ever since been maintained in Spanish and British America and the United States. A century later the spoils of the Orient were exhausted, the Brazilian placers began to decline, and Portugal lost her importance. Spain thus again got control of the ratio, and, as her colonial produce was chiefly silver, she raised its value in 1775 from one sixteenth to one fifteenth and a half that of gold for the Peninsula, permitting it to remain at one sixteenth in the colonies. France, whose previous ratio (that of 1726) was 14*½*, adopted the Spanish ratio of 15*½* in 1785, and has adhered to it ever since. These three historical ratios, and the bearing of each upon the others, have influenced all legislation on the subject, and, where there was no legislation, have governed the bullion market for more than two centuries."

From the foregoing historical account of the ratio between gold and silver it appears that any nation producing the greatest amount of the precious metals has always been able to control the ratio and fix the relative values of the metals.

When Spain made her gold discoveries in America and obtained a considerable supply of this metal and anticipated still larger gold discoveries, she became master of the situation and at one stroke of the pen arbitrarily raised the value

of gold from $10\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 to $13\frac{1}{4}$ to 1, and "*the rest of the world was obliged to acquiesce in her valuation.*" Why? Because she controlled the supply.

A century afterward the little kingdom of Portugal, not one quarter as large as the State of California, and at that time not producing one tenth of the wealth now produced in California, was able to come to the front and dictate to the world what the ratio should be between gold and silver, simply because at that time she was producing more gold than any other nation in the world. She exercised her prerogative as the greatest gold producer, and arbitrarily raised the value of gold from $13\frac{1}{4}$ to 1 to 16 to 1, and *the rest of the world was obliged to acquiesce in her valuation.*

A century later, the mines theretofore controlled by Portugal having become exhausted, "Portugal lost her importance," and Spain, then being a heavy producer of silver, again got control of the ratio and raised the value of silver, or reduced that of gold, which amounts to the same thing, from 16 to 1 to $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, which ratio has remained the European ratio since that time (1775). It also appears from the historical account quoted from the Britannica that the metal of which there was the greatest production was always the one that was increased in value.

From the above and foregoing is it not conclusively shown that the relative value of gold and silver, so long as they have free and unlimited coinage, is not influenced in the slightest degree by the amount of bullion that may be produced of either of the metals? In the instances given by Laughlin when the greatest production was silver, silver was more valuable when measured by gold; and when the greatest production was gold, then gold was more valuable when measured by silver. And in the instances cited in the Britannica it was the metal of which there was the greatest production that was increased in value in every instance. It is the law and not the amount of the production that fixes and maintains the relative value of the metals.

What are the facts to-day as to the production of silver, and where is it being produced?

The report of the Director of the Mint dated June 24, 1894, shows that the world's production of silver for the year 1893, rated at the ratio of 16 to 1, amounted to \$208,371,000. Of this amount the United States produced \$77,575,700, and Mexico produced \$57,375,600. The amount produced in the United States and Mexico was \$134,951,300, and all

the balance of the world produced \$73,419,700. But of this \$73,419,700 the South American and Central American States, all of which are silver-using countries and equally interested with the United States in maintaining the price of silver, produced \$25,044,700, and the Dominion of Canada produced \$321,400, which makes a total production in America of \$160,317,400, and all the balance of the world produced only \$48,053,600. The amount actually produced in Europe was \$19,155,100. The amount produced in Great Britain, the country that now assumes the prerogative of fixing the value of the silver bullion of the world, was \$327,700. England's production of silver is less than two mills on the dollar of the total production. Instead of being able to dictate the value of silver bullion, she ought not to be consulted at all. She should have no voice in the matter. In fact Europe combined could not, as against the wishes of America, exert much, if any, influence on the value of silver. The amount of their production or of their actual consumption of silver is too trifling to have any material influence on its market value. Europe requires a certain amount of silver bullion annually to keep up her supply of token money, even though she might discontinue its use as money of ultimate or final redemption. The amount now being consumed by her for coinage purposes averages about \$32,000,000 annually, to which if you add the amount consumed by her in the arts it will be found that instead of having silver to sell, she annually consumes more than double the amount of silver that she produces.

It may be a fine thing for Europe to allow her to fix the price of silver bullion, but it is contrary to all precedent, and an outrage on the silver-producing countries. America produces more than three times as much silver as all the balance of the world, and more than ten times as much as the amount produced in Europe.

The total amount of silver produced in the world, outside of America, is not sufficient to supply the demands of Europe for coinage purposes and for use in the arts. It is not sufficient to supply the demand of India for coinage purposes alone. It would hardly be sufficient to keep the silver gods of China in decent repair, to say nothing about the necessity of a new one now and then.

Mexico, and in fact all of the South American and Central American States, are equally interested with us in maintaining the price of silver bullion, and will gladly co-operate

with us in any effort we may make to restore silver to its former position and value in the monetary system of the world. It would be an act of imbecility for America, producing as it does more than three fourths of the silver produced in the world, and more than ten times as much as the European production, to allow Europe to fix the price of our silver bullion. We have no interests in common with Europe on the silver question. We are heavy producers of silver. We have silver to sell. It is to our interest to maintain the price of silver bullion. Europe is a heavy consumer of silver. She does not produce enough to supply her demands. She must enter the market and buy silver, not only for coinage purposes, but for use in the arts. It is to her interest to buy silver at as low a price as possible. We cannot combine with Europe. Let us combine with those who have interests in common with us.

America commands the supply of silver bullion. The annual consumption of silver for coinage purposes, notwithstanding the suspension of the coinage of silver by the Latin Union, averaged for the years 1891-2-3 over \$143,000,000, and the consumption in the arts for the same years averaged over \$27,000,000 (see report of Director of the Mint for 1894), making a total annual consumption of \$170,000,000, only \$48,000,000 of which are produced outside of America. After consuming all the silver bullion produced outside of America, the world must buy from us \$122,000,000 worth of silver bullion annually for coinage purposes, and they must pay the price fixed by us if we have manhood enough left to fix a price. In fact, the world has been paying at the rate of about \$1.29 per ounce for silver bullion ever since 1873, while we have received on an average only about two thirds that amount, and the speculators of Europe have been pocketing the difference. Is it not about time to dispense with the European middleman and sell direct to the consumer at actual value?

How about the gold production of the world?

The report of the Director of the Mint shows that the world's production of gold for the year 1893 was \$155,521,700, and that the amount produced in the various countries was as follows:

America	.	.	.	\$49,050,700
Europe	.	.	.	28,165,100
Asia	.	.	.	13,311,500
Africa	.	.	.	29,305,800
Australasia	.	.	.	35,688,600
Total	.	.	.	<u>\$155,521,700</u>

It appears from the above and foregoing that America is not only the greatest producer of silver in the world, but that she is also the greatest producer of gold. Certainly, then, according to precedent, she has the right to fix the ratio between the metals, and when she exercises her prerogative and fixes the ratio *the world would be obliged to acquiesce in her valuation.*

The total output of gold of America, Asia, and Russia, all of which are silver-using countries, is \$87,168,400, and the production of the rest of the world is but \$68,353,300, and of this amount \$29,305,800 is produced in Africa. Nearly all of the African gold is produced in the South African Republic, a pure democracy in Southern Africa. Africa has but little interest in monetary affairs, and is never consulted on monetary matters. If the African product is deducted, or not counted on either side, we have for the world's annual production, exclusive of Africa, \$126,215,900, of which America, Asia, and Russia produce \$87,168,400, and the balance of the world produces \$39,047,500.

The amount of gold produced in the countries now clamoring for a single gold standard is not enough by more than \$11,000,000 to supply the demand for gold for use in the arts, even after counting in Australasia with the gold monometallists. All the gold produced in these countries and \$11,000,000 worth of that produced in silver-using countries would be consumed in the arts before a single dollar's worth would be available for coinage purposes.

The amount of gold produced in Europe, exclusive of Russia, — and Russia is not clamoring for gold, Russia is a silver-standard country to-day, — is only \$3,358,900, or a trifle more than two per cent of the total output. The greatest objection to silver comes from England. England's bitter fight against silver dates from 1816, and from that time until the present she has constantly opposed its use as money. How much gold does she produce? In 1893 she produced the enormous sum of \$42,300, less than three tenths of one mill on the dollar of the world's production for that year. To allow a country virtually producing no gold or silver to dictate to the bullion-producing countries what the ratio between the metals shall be, or to have any influence whatever in fixing the ratio, or to be even consulted in any manner, is an outrage on the intelligence of the rest of the world.

But it may be claimed that Great Britain should be credited

with the gold produced in her colonies and dependencies. If this was done let us see how the account would stand.

Gold produced in Great Britain	\$42,300
“ “ “ Australasia	35,688,600
“ “ “ Dominion of Canada	927,200
“ “ “ British India	3,813,600
“ “ “ British Guiana	2,567,400
	<hr/> \$43,039,100

But of the gold produced in Australasia \$32,059,354 was coined into money in the Australian Mint (see report of Director of the Mint), consequently that amount of the Australian bullion could not have been exported to England; therefore this amount must be deducted, which leaves \$10,979,746 as the total supply that the mother country could by any possibility have received from her colonies.

It may, however, be claimed that England should have credit for at least a part of the African output. Undoubtedly a portion of the gold mined in Africa is taken out by English operators, but I have no means of ascertaining what proportion. The gold mines of Africa are common plunder for the entire world. Every nationality has its representatives in Africa digging for gold; and as nine tenths of the world to day are using silver as full legal tender money, all of whom are interested in maintaining the value of silver, I take it for granted that the nine tenths can get away with as much African gold bullion as the other one tenth, consequently I leave the African output entirely out of the case. If, however, Great Britain controlled all of it she would still have less than the American output. If she controlled all the African gold she would still have less than the demand for consumption in the arts, to say nothing about controlling the coinage ratio of the world.

If in 1546 Spain, simply because she was the greatest producer of gold, was able to arbitrarily establish and maintain for one hundred years the ratio between gold and silver, and then Portugal, because she had become the greatest producer of gold, was able to arbitrarily raise its value as compared with silver and maintain her ratio for another hundred years, and if Spain, then having become again the greatest producer of the precious metals, but now, silver being the metal of which there was the greatest production, by her arbitrary edict was able to raise the value of silver as measured by gold, and the rest of the world was obliged to acquiesce in these several valuations so fixed first by Spain,

then by Portugal, and afterward by Spain again, simply because at the time the several ratios were fixed these nations were the greatest producers of gold or silver, what is to prevent the United States with her immense commerce, and annually producing, as she does, hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of the absolute necessities of life that Europe needs and must have and can procure nowhere else, and controlling as she does a monopoly of both gold and silver, what is to prevent her from establishing and maintaining any ratio between the metals that she sees fit to establish? Nothing but the ignorance, stupidity, cowardice, or rascality of the members of our National Legislature.

Is there any danger of our getting too much silver money in the United States? The report of the Director of the Mint published in 1893 shows that the total amount of silver coin now in existence is \$4,042,700,000. If we had all of it, it would make a *per capita* circulation of about \$58 for our present population, and that is not too much money for the business interests of this country. France has nearly that sum *per capita*, and France is now the most prosperous country in the world.

In 1865 and 1866 we had in the United States, including the seven-thirty notes and the various other issues that were by law a legal tender and lawful money, a greater *per capita* circulation than all the silver in the world would give us now; and it must be conceded that we then had the most prosperous times this country ever experienced. Even Hugh McCulloch admitted that at that time "the people were prosperous and comparatively free from debt."

But it is insisted by the gold-standard men that silver is too bulky and heavy to be used as money, that the silver we now have will not circulate, and that the government has impoverished itself already in building vaults in which to store it.

So far as its circulation as money is concerned we now have a law allowing any person who has ten or more silver dollars to deposit them with the Treasurer or any Assistant Treasurer of the United States and receive silver certificates therefor; and the only reason so much silver is now on deposit is because the people prefer the certificates. Every silver dollar now on deposit in the United States Treasury is discharging the money function by its paper representative. Silver certificates could be advantageously used in the United States for every dollar of silver in existence in the world.

All the coined silver in the world could be put into a single room sixty-six feet square and sixty-six feet high. It would not take a very large vault to hold all of it; and all this talk about impoverishing the government to build vaults to hold our silver is the veriest nonsense.

But what is the probability of our getting all the silver in the world or any considerable portion of it?

About one half of the silver in the world is in India and China. India and China are silver-using countries. They do not use gold as money. China and India now are, and for many years have been, heavy consumers of silver. In order to obtain the amount of silver required by them they have established a ratio of 15 to 1. Every ounce of silver they have costs them \$1.37. This certainly is not cheap silver. Not a dollar's worth of this silver could be brought to the United States without a loss of at least seven per cent to the shipper, besides cost of transportation. No one supposes, even the gold-standard men do not claim, that any silver would come to this country from Asia.

The total amount of silver in Europe is \$1,484,000,000, all of which is coined into money, none of it at a higher ratio than $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, and most of it at a much lower ratio. None of the European silver is cheap silver, and none of it could be shipped to this country without a loss of at least three per cent to the shipper besides cost of transportation. None of it can be spared from the circulating medium of the several nations where it is now being used as money.

Not only can none of the stock now on hand be spared, but the demand in Europe is for more silver. In 1893 the amount of silver coined in Europe was over \$34,000,000. And the amount coined for the years 1891-2-3 averaged over \$32,000,000 annually (see Report of Director of the Mint for 1894). Europe has no silver to spare. The United States, under free and unlimited coinage, instead of importing silver, would continue in the future as she has been in the past, a large exporter of silver bullion.

It is insisted by the gold-standard advocates that the free coinage of silver would drive gold out of the country. Of course no person can know that such would be the result, he can only guess that such a thing might happen. These same men told us that the compulsory coinage of silver under the Bland Act would drive all the gold out of the country, but it did not do so. The report of the Director of the Mint

shows that in 1878, when the Bland Act became a law, there was but \$213,000,000 in gold in the United States, and that from that time until 1893 there was coined in the United States from \$2,000,000 to \$4,000,000 of silver every month, and that in 1893 we had \$646,000,000 in gold in the United States. Instead of driving out the gold there was a constant stream of gold flowing into the country. They were certainly false prophets in 1878, and we have no evidence that they have received any special inspiration since that time. There is not a particle of danger of silver driving gold out of the country. Foreign demand for gold may cause its exportation, but silver will not drive it out of the country.

The report of the Director of the Mint for the year ending June 30, 1894, on page 57, shows that the world's production of silver for the years 1891, 1892, and 1893 amounted to \$583,464,000, rated at the ratio of 16 to 1. The same report shows (page 54) that the annual consumption of silver for use in the arts is \$27,554,280. This will give a total consumption in the arts for the three years of \$82,662,840. On page 270 the same report shows that the silver coinage of the world for the same time was \$430,169,558. If these figures are correct,—and without doubt they are substantially true,—there was a surplus left over each year, on an average, of \$23,547,200 worth of silver bullion.

The loss of silver from abrasion and from other causes is enormous. The Director of the Mint published a tabulated statement in 1893, from which it appears that the world's production of silver from 1492 to 1893, a period of four hundred years, was \$9,726,072,000, and that the total amount of silver money in actual existence in 1893 was \$4,042,700,000, less than one half of the amount produced.

With such a ratio of loss, I think any fair-minded man will concede that the \$23,547,200 yearly surplus will not be more than sufficient to make up the loss from abrasion and accident to the stock of coin now in existence.

Is there enough gold to furnish the people with the necessary circulating medium? Turning again to the report of the Director of the Mint for 1894, we find (on page 57) that the world's production of gold for the years 1891-2-3 amounted to \$432,470,000, or an annual average production of \$144,118,666. On page 53 of the same report it is shown that the annual consumption of gold in the arts is \$50,177,300. This leaves for coinage purposes \$93,941,366.

If gold is to be the money of the world, we shall find, by dividing the amount of gold available for coinage purposes by the population of the world, that it would give us an annual increase in the circulating medium of six cents *per capita*, providing none of the stock on hand was lost or destroyed.

But the advocates of the gold standard insist that it is not fair to divide the available supply by the total population of the world, because they say a large proportion of the people of the world do not use gold as money. Very well, suppose only one fourth of the people use gold as money; then the annual *per capita* increase in circulation, provided none of the stock on hand be lost or destroyed in any manner, would be twenty-four cents. But would there not be some loss from abrasion and accidents? The Director of the Mint, in the tables heretofore referred to, published in 1893, shows that the world's production of gold since 1492 amounts to \$8,204,303,000, and that the total supply of gold money in existence Aug. 16, 1893, was \$3,582,605,000. This shows a tremendous loss of gold, particularly when we take into consideration the fact that more than two thirds of the eight billion dollars' worth of gold was produced within the last hundred years. There can be no question but that with a single gold standard there must be a constantly diminishing volume of money.

None of the nations of Europe are benefited by the demonetization of silver except England, and all of them, with the exception of England, would follow the United States in its remonetization.

England is the great creditor nation of the world; her imports are largely in excess of her exports; she is therefore interested in having dear money and cheap commodities. If commodities are cheap and money dear, but little money will be required to settle her balances of trade; and if money is dear, that is, if its purchasing power is great, the amount received as fixed charges on the interest-bearing obligations she holds against other nations and the people of other nationalities will be much more valuable, and will go farther in paying for such commodities as she must obtain from abroad than it would with a large volume of money in circulation.

Again, England, or English capitalists, who control the financial policy of England, are making large sums of money

annually in buying silver bullion at much less than its coinage value from the American producer and exchanging it in India and other silver-using countries at its full coinage value for wheat, cotton, and other commodities for import into England. England will not agree to international bimetallism. It is not necessary to have her co-operation in order to maintain bimetallism.

Bimetallism has existed since the first dawn of civilization; England, however, as long ago as in the first half of the eighteenth century favored monometallism. Desiring dear money and cheap commodities, she exerted all the influence she possesses in favor of the discontinuance of the use of one of the metals; and believing that silver would be the most abundant and that it was a plebeian money, the money of the common people, she sought to discredit it. Dutot in 1739, Dessortous in 1790, and Lord Liverpool in 1808, as the champions of the aristocracy and money lords of England, urged upon Parliament the propriety of monometallism. Finally, in 1816, silver was demonetized. Notwithstanding the fact, however, of the demonetization of silver by England, bimetallism was still maintained, all the mints of the world, except those of England, were still open to the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and silver did not depreciate a single point in value as compared with gold. England could accomplish nothing alone. Although she did all that she could do to discredit silver, silver remained on a parity with gold always at a ratio below 16 to 1, even in the London market, at all times between 1816 and 1873. It was not until after the demonetization of silver by the United States, the greatest silver-producing country in the world, that silver began to decline in value as measured by gold.

A peculiar combination of circumstances favored England in her war against silver in 1872-3. Germany, elated by her victory over France, adopted the single gold standard under the impression that the \$1,000,000,000 gold indemnity extorted from France would place her upon a solid financial basis and make her a creditor nation. She obtained her gold standard, but instead of becoming a creditor nation she has so impoverished and degraded the great mass of her people as to imperil the very existence of the empire. Germany sees her mistake and would to-day be glad of any reasonable pretext to return to bimetallism.

France has not demonetized silver, but only temporarily

closed her mints to its free coinage. She was obliged to do this to prevent Germany from unloading her silver upon France for still more French gold. The action of Germany and France, two great commercial nations, induced several of the smaller nations of Europe to discontinue the further coinage of silver, not because they did not like silver money, but to prevent Germany, who had a large stock of silver, from exchanging, after having demonetized it, her silver for their stock of gold.

In the United States in 1873 our currency was paper money. Gold and silver were not used as a medium of exchange. In 1873 an act was passed by Congress entitled "An Act revising and amending the laws relative to the Mint, assay offices, and coinage of the United States."

It is charged that this act, which demonetized silver in the United States, was corruptly passed through both Houses of Congress. Whether British gold was used to corrupt certain members of Congress is not, and probably never will be, positively known. But certain it is that not to exceed half a dozen members of Congress knew at the time of the passage of the act that it demonetized silver, and they said nothing about it in public. Certain it is that President Grant when he signed the act did not know that it demonetized silver. Certain it is that the press of the country, which was represented in both Houses of Congress by their special reporters, knew nothing about it. Certain it is that the people had never petitioned Congress for any such legislation, and did not know that there had been any such until nearly two years after the passage of the act.

The act demonetizing silver in the United States was the most important and far-reaching in its consequences of any act ever passed by Congress, and yet no paper published anywhere in the United States at or near the time of its passage contains any reference to it whatever.

Had the United States at that time been using gold and silver as a medium of exchange, it would not have been possible to pass such an act without close scrutiny by the members of Congress and by the press of the country; but no metallic money was in circulation, and an act to revise the laws of the Mint was at that time not considered of much importance; and with the assurance of the chairman of the committee having the bill in charge that the act under consideration was simply an act revising the laws relative to the

Mint and assay offices, etc., it passed without careful inspection. Such a combination of circumstances is not likely to occur in the United States again, and certainly no act to revise the Mint laws of the United States will ever again pass Congress without careful scrutiny.

It is claimed that free coinage of silver would stimulate production to such an extent that we should soon have too much money, that everybody would rush to the mines, and that in a short time we should be flooded with money. It is quite probable that with the price of commodities as they now are, — wheat fifty cents per bushel, cotton five cents per pound, and other things in proportion, — many people would desert the farm and ranch for the mine, for the reason that they could realize more from their labor as miners than they could from raising commodities.

But it should be borne in mind that the value of money is regulated by the amount of money in circulation, and that as the volume of money was increased, its purchasing power would be correspondingly decreased; that as the purchasing power of money was reduced, commodities would increase in value, and a point would soon be reached where the individual could realize more from his labor in producing commodities than he could by mining silver. As soon as that point was reached the great mass of miners would desert the mine for the farm, and the further increase of money would cease.

If coinage were free and unlimited, and extended to both metals, the system would become self-regulating. When the interests of the people demanded more money, more bullion would be produced; when the demand for money was satisfied, the energies of the people would be employed in producing commodities. The only thing that could possibly interfere with this automatic regulation would be the exhaustion of the gold and silver mines, or the discovery of immense deposits of the so-called precious metals in excess of the demand for money, — neither of which events is likely to occur. But should either of these things happen, it would only be necessary to limit the coinage, or use some other commodity as the bearer of the money stamp as the representative of the money function. It is not necessary, however, to cross this bridge until we get to it.

If there is a large volume of money in circulation it will find its way into the hands of the people and it cannot be so easily cornered by trusts, syndicates, and combines; but if

the volume of money is small, in proportion to the demand, it can be cornered by the money king. If the volume of money is small, its purchasing power is great and commodities cheap, and the creditor class, the men with fixed incomes and large capital, can manipulate the money and control the destiny of the people.

There are thousands of men in moderate circumstances, men who to-day are producing commodities which they must sell on the market for less than the cost of production, men whose every interest would be promoted by bimetallism, that are shouting themselves hoarse for a single gold standard, simply because such a standard is demanded by their party leaders. These men are honest and unselfish, but they are blinded by partisan prejudice. But how about the honesty of the leaders, the men who are informed, who know the consequences that must result from the destruction of one half of the money in existence? These men are not honest; but instigated by selfishness or by hope of party supremacy, in utter disregard of the misery, poverty, and absolute serfdom and slavery that must be entailed on the great mass of the people, they have entered into the most gigantic and fiendish conspiracy ever conceived by man to enrich themselves and enslave the world.

While the money-using people have been more than doubled within the last half century, and the demand for money has been more than quadrupled by reason of the immense advance in productive industry, these men propose to destroy one half of the money in existence and prevent the people from making any more.

If a single gold standard is adopted, the annual production of gold will not be sufficient to supply the demand for use in the arts and keep the old stock good. If the single gold standard can be forced upon South America and Asia, gold must inevitably appreciate to at least four times its present value, commodities must decline to one fourth of the present price, and not a dollar for all time to come can be added to the circulating medium, but on the contrary there must be a constantly diminishing volume of money.

This is the contest. If the money kings can force gold monometallism upon the world they will succeed in establishing the most gigantic moneyed aristocracy among the rich, and the worst system of peonage, serfdom, and slavery among the masses that has ever cursed the human race.

A PROPHET OF FREEDOM.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

O Freedom! if to me belong
Nor mighty Milton's gift divine,
Nor Marvell's wit and graceful song,
Still with a love as deep and strong
As theirs I lay, like them, my best gifts on thy shrine!

— Whittier.

Or should he deem wrong there at the public weal,
Lo! the whole man seemed girt with flashing steel,
His glance a sword thrust, and his words of ire
Like thunder tones from some old prophet's lyre.

— Hayne.

We already see, and the future will see it more clearly, that no party ever did a vaster work than his party; that he, like Hampden and Milton, is a character not produced in common times. — *E. C. Stedman.*

In the history of many an individual, especially among those who have left their impress on their age, there comes a time when the trend of life seems to turn on the most insignificant happening. This apparently destiny-shaping event or decision does not, of course, change the character of the individual, making him good or bad, when before he had been the opposite, although it may greatly strengthen and develop the good or bad characteristics of his nature; for it must be borne in mind that behind the momentous though seemingly unimportant happening is the individual's personality with its dower of sunshine or shadow received through the complex and interblended influences of heredity and prenatal and postnatal conditions. There is the brain with its potential grasp — its imagination and the marvellous alchemic power by which ideas are transmuted into living agencies capable of influencing other minds and shaping the destiny of nations and civilizations. There is the conscience, awake or asleep, but ever present. There is the soul, awaiting the moving of the waters by the Spirit of God. Thus this trivial something which is so influential if not so absolutely destiny-fixing in character, acts as a branch which falling from a tree changes the course of a river near its source so that it flows into the ocean hundreds of miles from where it would have entered the sea had nothing deflected its current. Does anything *happen* in our world? Have the *ifs* of history any real place in serious contemplation? Is man a creature of free will or of destiny? Or do both these

agencies act and react upon each other? I incline to think the last view correct. But the fact that the most momentous events in the history of humanity seem frequently to have hung on the most trivial occurrences, often the will of a fragile child (as, for example, in the case of the Maid of Orleans), affords a most interesting subject for speculation. And so with the lives of many who have powerfully influenced the brain and conscience of their fellowmen; frequently it seems that the current of their destiny has veered at the whim of chance or turned at the beck of a trifling circumstance.

In the life of Whittier we find one of these momentous but seemingly insignificant incidents,—the sister secretly sends her brother's poem to William Lloyd Garrison, whose first impulse is to destroy without reading it. The young editor, however, is impelled to glance over the creation and is impressed with its power. He publishes it, and forthwith seeks to ascertain the name of the author; after succeeding, he visits the Whittier homestead and urges the father to look favorably on the suggestion of his son securing a better education. This visit exerts a most pronounced effect upon the youthful poet. It fans to flame his ambition, leading him to make one of those all-compelling resolutions which brook no failure. He succeeds in entering the academy at Haverhill, Mass., and is subsequently launched upon a literary career, editing three different journals during 1828 and 1833.*

For five years after entering public life Whittier practically refrained from casting in his lot with the despised band of Abolitionists, who were then the recipients of all the epithets of abuse which unreasoning prejudice and easy-going conventionalism employ so prodigally when seeking to clothe with ignominy those who insist on arousing the sleeping conscience of society by demanding a higher regard for the demands of justice and morality. The facts involved seem to clearly indicate that it was Garrison's influence which at last turned the scales, leading Whittier after his five years of waiting to boldly embrace the cause of Abolition. Not that his sympathies had at any time been other than with the cause of freedom, but he was a Quaker; he loved peace, and his intuitive mind quickly perceived, what many less far-seeing men failed to appreciate, that the onward movement of the

*The *American Manufacturer*, the *Haverhill Gazette*, and the *New England Review*.

Abolition cause meant riots, mobs, and bloodshed, — perhaps it meant war and the severance of the Union. He hoped to see the cause triumph peaceably, even if so it should be longer in the process of settlement. Then again he had political and literary ambitions which he well knew would be blasted if he espoused the unpopular cause. He shrank from the contempt of his fellowmen, and he dreaded the savage conflict which he felt would follow an aggressive campaign for unconditional abolition. He cherished as long as possible the hope that justice would triumph over greed; but the time came when he could not answer Garrison's arguments to his own satisfaction, for he could not close his eyes to the fact that the trend of politics and the commercial demands and requirements of the time were distinctly opposed to his vision of gradual emancipation. In order to win electoral votes from the South, the two great parties throughout the North were vying with each other in disciplining those members who pleaded for freedom and justice to all men. The cotton gin and the increase of rice culture made the dream of gradual emancipation thoroughly visionary; at least it seemed so to Whittier, who had carefully studied the question with an earnest desire to be convinced that the theory of gradual emancipation was probable, if the facts at all warranted such a conclusion. His hope, however, grew less and less the more he considered the question. Garrison, who through his early friendship with the poet was able to approach nearer to his conscience than any one else, brought all his influence to bear upon the young Quaker to convince him of his duty, and to outweigh Whittier's natural reluctance to engage in aggressive warfare, his supersensitiveness, and his ambition for political honors.

In 1833 Whittier crossed the Rubicon by publishing at his own expense a carefully prepared argument on "Justice and Expediency." This done, he found himself forced into the heart of the band who were struggling for an interpretation of freedom wider than the nation had yet recognized. His poem inscribed to Garrison* reveals his strong attachment to the friend of his youth and his admiration for the moral

*This poem, according to Mr. Packard, was published in the *Haverhill Gazette* in November, 1831; while Mr. William Sloane Kennedy, in his "Life of Whittier," maintains that it was not published until after "Justice and Expediency." If Mr. Packard is correct, it indicates that the strong attachment of the poet for Garrison, and his admiration for the man who was being so generally maligned, led to this outburst of feeling in verse which reflected the sentiments of the youthful editor who was not yet ready to cast in his lines with Garrison.

courage of the foremost apostle of Abolition, as will be seen from these stanzas :

Champion of those who groan beneath
Oppression's iron hand :
In view of penury, hate, and death,
I see thee fearless stand.
Still bearing up thy lofty brow,
In the steadfast strength of truth,
In manhood sealing well the vow
And promise of thy youth.

* * * *

I love thee with a brother's love,
I feel my pulses thrill,
To mark thy spirit soar above
The cloud of human ill.
My heart hath leaped to answer thine,
And echo back thy words,
As leaps the warrior's at the shine
And flash of kindred swords !

* * * *

Have I not known thee well, and read
Thy mighty purpose long ?
And watched the trials which have made
Thy human spirit strong ?
And shall the slanderer's demon breath
Avail with one like me,
To dim the sunshine of my faith
And earnest trust in thee ?

In taking his stand Whittier made one of those sublime sacrifices which evince the essential divinity immanent in man. For even those who do not sympathize with his decision, deeming the action to have been unwise, unless they be blinded by unreasoning prejudice, will appreciate the grandeur of soul which led an ambitious young man with most flattering political and literary prospects before him to turn his back upon honor, success, and the natural inclinations of his nature, and consent to be a social outcast for the cause his conscience approved ; for no one was better acquainted with the nature of the sacrifice he was making than the poet. He had carefully surveyed the whole field from the position of one whose opportunities enabled him to comprehend the magnitude of the sacrifice. On this point Mr. William Sloane Kennedy observes :

"When Whittier espoused the cause of the slave he had counted the cost, and knew that he was burying all hope of political preferment and literary gains. Those who gave themselves to the work knew not but that it might be for a lifetime. To be shunned and spat upon by society, mobbed in public, and injured in one's business, — this was what it meant to become an Abolitionist. When Miss Martineau avowed her sympathy

with them, society shut its doors in her face. When Longfellow put forth his little pamphlet of poems on slavery, weak and harmless as they were, the editor of *Graham's Magazine* wrote him to offer excuses for the brevity of a guarded notice of the poems, saying that the word 'slavery' was never allowed to appear in a Philadelphia periodical, and that the publisher of the magazine had objected to have even the name of the book appear in his pages. Allusion only can be made to a few of the innumerable persecutions endured by the friends of the black race. How Lydia Maria Child was deprived of the use of the Athenæum Library in Boston, because the first use she had made of it was to prepare her 'Appeal'; how Dr. Follen was deprived of his professorship in Harvard College for his brave espousal of Abolitionism; how Prudence Crandall's schoolhouse was defiled with filth and its windows broken; how Arthur Tappan's house was sacked and his life threatened; how Dr. Reuben Crandall (teacher of botany in Washington, D. C., and brother of Prudence Crandall), for having, at his own request, lent to a white citizen a copy of Whittier's 'Justice and Expediency,' was kept in a damp city prison for eight months, until the seeds of consumption were sown and his life made a sacrifice; how Amos Dresser was flogged in the public square of Nashville, and his fellow student of Lane Seminary, the eloquent Marius R. Robinson, was dragged from his bed at night and tarred and feathered by ruffians, — all these things are matters of history."

This noble sacrifice of the lower to the higher afforded the poet the keenest pleasure throughout life, as such soul-victories always afford high-minded, sincere natures; and he attributed his later success largely to this momentous decision. Toward the close of his life he said as much to a youth of fifteen years who sought his counsel, adding, "Join thyself to some unpopular but noble cause if thou wouldst succeed." The poet had in mind, without doubt, the only success which is worthy of the name, — success from which flow the triumph of right and the enlargement of human happiness.

The meetings of the Abolitionists were frequently broken up by turbulent bands, even when no violence was shown, and many are the ludicrous incidents which occurred at these gatherings. On one occasion a lady who was accustomed to give the friends of freedom no end of trouble by her continual interruptions, and who, being possessed of some wit, usually created great amusement among the unsympathetic onlookers who frequented all these assemblies, became so troublesome that in order to continue the meeting it was necessary to remove the loquacious lady in question. Finally Wendell Phillips and two other gentlemen gently raised her chair and proceeded to carry her from the hall. She was by no means disconcerted, but in fact seemed to enjoy the situation. The trio had not proceeded far, however, when she broke the silence by exclaiming, "I am better off than my Master was, for he had but one ass to ride on, while I

have three to carry me." Whittier used to relate another amusing incident which occurred about this time. One of the public meetings became very stormy, more on account of the opposing views entertained by the friends of freedom than from the disorderly class who usually gave trouble. Now there were seated on the platform William Lloyd Garrison, whose head was very bald, William A. Burleigh, whose hair fell in a great mane on his shoulders, and a negro. Suddenly, during a momentary lull, some one in the rear of the hall shouted, "Mr. Speaker, Mr. Speaker, I have only a word to say. If that negro will shave Burleigh, and make a wig for Garrison, all difference will be settled." The house instantly broke forth in roars of laughter which lasted for some time and seemed to put every one in a good humor, as from that moment the meeting passed off smoothly; a rare good humor seeming to have taken the place of the almost bitter spirit which had prevailed a few moments before.

In 1838 the beautiful new temple of freedom in Philadelphia dedicated as Pennsylvania Hall was burned by a mob. This act of lawlessness created a deep impression on many thoughtful minds throughout the North. In his editorial in the issue of the *Pennsylvania Tribune*, which appeared after the burning, Whittier speaks in these vivid, vital, and prophetic sentences of the outrage and the influence which it would exert upon the friends of freedom:

"Not in vain, we trust, has the persecution fallen upon us. Fresher and purer for the fiery baptism, the cause lives in our hearts. . . . Woe unto us if we falter through the fear of man! . . . Citizens of Pennsylvania! your rights as well as ours have been violated in this dreadful outrage. . . . In the heart of your free city, within view of the Hall of Independence, whose spire and roof reddened in the flame of the sacrifice, the deed has been done, — and the shout which greeted the falling ruin was the shout of Slavery over the grave of Liberty. . . . Are we pointed to the smoking ruins of that beautiful Temple of Freedom, which we fondly hoped would have long echoed the noble and free sentiments of a Franklin, a Rush, a Benezet, a Jay; and as we look sadly on its early downfall, are we bidden to learn hence the fate of our own dwellings if we persevere? Think not the intimidation will drive us from our post. . . . We feel that God has called us to this work, and if it be his purpose that we should finish what we have begun, he can preserve us, though it be as in the lion's den or the sevenfold heated furnace."

Whittier's poems during this period were thrown off at white heat. In later life he thus characterized them:

"Of their defects from an artistic point of view it is not necessary to speak. They were the earnest and often vehement expression of the writer's thought and feeling at critical periods in the great conflict between Freedom and Slavery. They were written with no expectation that

they would survive the occasions which called them forth; they were protests, alarm signals, trumpet calls to action, words wrung from the writer's heart, forged at white heat, and of course lacking the finish and careful word selection which reflection and patient brooding over them might have given."

They were indeed trumpet calls, and did more to awaken the sleeping conscience of the nation than even our historians appreciate. James Russell Lowell was profoundly impressed, and generously expressed his appreciation of Whittier in these striking lines:

"Whittier has always been found faithful to the Muse's holy trust. He has not put his talent out at profitable interest, by catering to the insolent and Pharisaical self-esteem of the times; nor has he hidden it in the damask napkin of historical commonplaces, or a philanthropy too universal to concern itself with particular wrongs, the practical redressing of which is all that renders philanthropy of value. Most poets are content to follow the spirit of their age, as pigeons follow a leaky grain-cart, picking a kernel here and there out of the dry dust of the past. Not so with Whittier. From the heart of the onset upon the serried mercenaries of every tyranny, the chords of his iron-strung lyre clang with a martial and triumphant cheer; and where Freedom's Spartan few maintain their inviolate mountain pass against the assaults of slavery, his voice may be heard, clear and fearless, as if the victory were already won. It is with the highest satisfaction I send you the enclosed poem, every way worthy of our truly New England poet."

And Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in a tribute to Whittier written some years since, thus expresses the wonderful influence exerted by the poet over his youthful imagination:

At dawn of manhood came a voice to me
That said to startled conscience, "Sleep no more."

* * *

If any good to me or from me came
Through life, and if no influence less divine
Has quite usurped the place of duty's flame;
If aught rose worthy in this heart of mine,
Aught that, viewed backward, wears no shade of shame;
Bless thee, old friend; for that high call was thine.

This brings us to notice some of Whittier's poems relating to the anti-slavery struggle. It cannot be expected that these stanzas will thrill or influence us as they did the northern mind during the exciting days when they were written, any more than the picture of an army rushing to savage death can awaken in a like degree the horror and sense of anguish that the actual battle would inspire. But, on the other hand, we at the present time, and especially those of us who have grown up since the terrible civil strife, can view these creations with eyes less blinded by partiality or prejudice than would have been possible if we had attempted to estimate this phase of Whittier's life at an earlier day. We

who have grown to manhood and womanhood since the close of the Civil War shall be able to appreciate the high motives, the sincerity and superb power of the poet, even though the sympathies of some of us may run counter to his thought. We are furthermore able to accord him a degree of justice which it would not have been reasonable, perhaps, for us to expect those of an older generation to show; for we appreciate the fact that he necessarily viewed the question of slavery from a point of view which prevented his gaining more than a partial grasp of the situation, and which prevented his knowing of the brighter aspects of plantation life, no less than the difficulties and perplexities which the southerners had to grapple with,—about which indeed all the Abolitionists knew little.

Having thus reached a point sufficiently removed from the conflict to enable us to judge justly and impartially view the work of the poet, whether we agree with him or dissent from his view, we pass to the notice of the poems more as the outgushing of a prophetic soul that conscientiously sought to awaken the sleeping conscience of the people on an issue which he felt to be of paramount importance; and in this judicial attitude we shall notice his creations apart from their partisan bearing or even their specific relation to the slavery question, as by maintaining this mental attitude we can more fairly consider Whittier's character as a typical reformer than would be possible if our views were colored by passion or prejudice.

In the following lines the poet-seer strives through an appeal to reason, patriotism, and manhood, and man's innate sense of justice, to avert the gloom and horror of war, on the one hand, or the degradation which he felt the nation must sink into if it elected to perpetrate slavery after the conscience had been called to judgment:

Up then, in Freedom's manly part,
From graybeard eld to fiery youth,
And on the nation's naked heart
Scatter the living coals of truth!
Up, — while ye slumber, deeper yet
The shadow of our shame is growing!
Up, — while ye pause, our sun may set
In blood, around our altars flowing!

Oh! rouse ye, ere the storm comes forth, —
The gathered wrath of God and man, —
Like that which wasted Egypt's earth,
When hail and fire above it ran.

Hear ye no warnings in the air?
 Feel ye no earthquake underneath?
 Up, — *up!* why will ye slumber where
 The sleeper only wakes in death?

Up now for freedom! — not in strife
 Like that your sterner fathers saw, —
 The awful waste of human life, —
 The glory and the guilt of war:
 But break the chain, — the yoke remove,
 And smite to earth oppression's rod
 With those mild arms of truth and love
 Made mighty through the living God!

The poem entitled "Massachusetts to Virginia" created a profound impression and was quoted at length throughout the North. The rugged spirit of freedom and the love of justice which characterized the sturdy Saxon people of olden time are very marked in these lines from this notable poem:

We hear thy threats, Virginia! thy stormy words and high
 Swell harshly on the southern winds which melt along our sky;
 Yet not one brown, hard hand foregoes its honest labor here, —
 No hewer of our mountain oaks suspends his axe in fear.

Wild are the waves which lash the reefs along St. George's bank, —
 Cold on the shore of Labrador the fog lies white and dank;
 Through storm and wave and blinding mist, stout are the hearts which man
 The fishing-smacks of Marblehead, the sea-boats of Cape Ann.

The cold north light and wintry sun glare on their icy forms,
 Bent grimly o'er their straining lines or wrestling with the storms;
 Free as the winds they drive before, rough as the waves they roam,
 They laugh to scorn the slaver's threat against their rocky home.

What means the Old Dominion? Hath she forgot the day
 When o'er her conquered valleys swept the Briton's steel array?
 How, side by side with sons of hers, the Massachusetts men
 Encountered Tarleton's charge of fire and stout Cornwallis, then?

Forgets she how the Bay State, in answer to the call
 Of her old House of Burgesses, spoke out from Faneuil Hall?
 When, echoing back her Henry's cry, came pulsing on each breath
 Of Northern winds, the thrilling sounds of "Liberty or Death!"

All that a sister State should do, all that a free State may,
 Heart, hand, and purse we proffer, as in our early day;
 But that one dark, loathsome burden ye must stagger with alone,
 And reap the bitter harvest which ye yourselves have sown!

* * * *

Hold while ye may your struggling slaves, and burden God's free air
 With woman's shriek beneath the lash, and manhood's wild despair;
 Cling closer to the "cleaving curse" that writes upon your plains
 The blasting of Almighty wrath against a land of chains.

We wage no war, — we lift no arm, — we fling no torch within
 The fire-damps of the quaking mine beneath your soil of sin;
 We leave ye with your bondmen, to wrestle, while ye can,
 With the strong upward tendencies and godlike soul of man!

But for us and for our children, the vow which we have given
 For freedom and humanity is registered in heaven;
 No slave-hunt in our borders, — no pirate on our strand!
 No fetters in the Bay State, — no slave upon our land!

The spirit which throbs through the above stanzas is that of justice, of progress and the dawn; and whether we are prepared to see as Whittier saw or not, we must recognize the presence of the soul of right pulsating throughout the burning words.

The following extracts from some stanzas entitled "Texas" are not exactly what one would expect from a Quaker, the spirit being distinctly defiant, yet they must have been electrifying in their effect upon the aroused conscience of men and women who were so far removed from slavery as to feel no personal interest in it, and who had known little save the darker side of the evil.

Up the hillside, down the glen,
 Rouse the sleeping citizen;
 Summon out the might of men!

Like a lion growling low, —
 Like a night-storm rising slow, —
 Like the tread of unseen foe, —

It is coming, — it is nigh!
 Stand your homes and altars by;
 On your own free thresholds die.

Clang the bells in all your spires;
 On the gray hills of your sires
 Fling to heaven your signal-fires.

From Wachusett, lone and bleak,
 Unto Berkshire's tallest peak,
 Let the flame-tongued heralds speak.

O, for God and duty stand,
 Heart to heart and hand to hand,
 Round the old graves of the land.

Whoso shrinks or falters now,
 Whoso to the yoke would bow,
 Brand the craven on his brow!

Whittier was unable to understand how men could yield to expediency when justice and the right were at stake. To his soul at white heat and strained to its utmost tension, the spectacle of men arguing that this or that though just was not politic and therefore should not be entertained, was so appalling that he scarcely knew how to frame words to utter his horror and indignation. In these lines, published in 1846, entitled "The Pine Tree," we hear a voice issuing

from a soul burdened by shame for the country and weighed with pity and grief :

Lift again the stately emblem on the Bay State's rusted shield,
Give to Northern winds the Pine-Tree on our banner's tattered field.
Sons of men who sat in council with their Bibles round the board,
Answering England's royal missive with a firm "*Thus saith the Lord!*"
Rise again for home and freedom! — set the battle in array! —
What the fathers did of old time we their sons must do to-day.

Tell us not of banks and tariffs, — cease your paltry pedler cries, —
Shall the good State sink her honor that your gambling stock may rise?
Would ye barter man for cotton? — That your gains may sum up higher,
Must we kiss the feet of Moloch, pass our children through the fire?
Is the dollar only real? — God and truth and right a dream?
Weighed against your lying ledgers must our manhood kick the beam?

O my God! — for that free spirit which of old in Boston town
Smote the Province House with terror, struck the crest of Andros down! —
For another strong-voiced Adams in the city streets to cry,
"Up for God and Massachusetts!" — set your feet on Mammon's lie!
Perish banks and perish traffic, — spin your cotton's latest pound, —
But in Heaven's name keep your honor, — keep the heart of the Bay State
sound!

In the following strong stanzas we again hear the prophet speaking. He has ascended the mountain far above the dull, plodding, self-absorbed millions. He has communed with the Divine, and the possibilities for progress, happiness, and advancement which lie along the path of any people who are ever loyal to the demands of justice and humanity to all are no less vividly impressed on his mind than the awful night which confronts those who refuse to leave the mess of pottage found in self-gratification, and who yield allegiance to short-sighted selfishness to the injury of others. There is something very fine and inspiring in these lines, and, what is still more important, they are as appropriate to-day as they were when the words flew from the brain of the poet as sparks from the white-hot iron under the hammer of the smith.

Forever ours! for good or ill, on us the burden lies;
God's balance, watched by angels, is hung across the skies.
Shall Justice, Truth, and Freedom turn the poised and trembling scale?
Or shall the Evil triumph, and robber Wrong prevail?
Shall the broad land o'er which our flag in starry splendor waves
Forego through us its freedom, and bear the tread of slaves?

The day is breaking in the East of which the prophets told,
And brightens up the sky of time the Christian Age of Gold;
Old Might to Right is yielding, battle blade to clerkly pen,
Earth's monarchs are her peoples, and her serfs stand up as men;
The isles rejoice together, in a day are nations born,
And the slave walks free in Tunis, and by Stamboul's Golden Horn!

The Crisis presses on us; face to face with us it stands,
With solemn lips of question, like the Sphinx in Egypt's sands!

This day we fashion Destiny, our web of Fate we spin;
 This day for all hereafter choose we holiness or sin;
 Even now from starry Gerizim, or Ebal's cloudy crown,
 We call the dews of blessing or the bolts of cursing down.

By all for which the martyrs bore their agony and shame;
 By all the warning words of truth with which the prophets came;
 By the Future which awaits us; by all the hopes which cast
 Their faint and trembling beams across the blackness of the Past;
 And by the blessed thought of Him who for Earth's freedom died,
 O my people! O my brothers! let us choose the righteous side.

"Ichabod"* is one of the most withering blasts that ever leaped from the indignant brain of an aroused poet. Its spirit is wholly unlike that which characterizes most of Whittier's verses, but it is a creation of great power, in its way one of the most terrible utterances to be found in our literature. And curiously enough it was aimed against a kinsman of the poet, a New England statesman who had once stood very high in the regard of Mr. Whittier, and for whose intellectual powers he ever entertained the greatest admiration. The circumstances which gave rise to this poem are interesting and may be briefly stated as follows: On the 7th of March, 1850, Daniel Webster delivered a famous speech which struck dismay to the hearts of all friends of Abolition in the North. In it he argued that no further restrictions on the extension of slavery in the territories of New Mexico and California were needed; that colonization of free negroes should be encouraged, *and that the fugitive slave law must be obeyed*. He further averred that the labors of the Abolitionists had served merely to fasten the institution of slavery more firmly than ever on the South. This address, strange as it may appear to persons who do not understand that conservatism is always ready to bulwark an outgrown wrong if it be enthroned in high places, was applauded by leading educators of Harvard and Andover Colleges. Indeed, an address of congratulation was presented to Webster, signed by eight hundred prominent citizens of the old Bay State, including Rufus Choate, William H. Prescott, Jared Sparks, and Prof. C. C. Felton of Harvard College. It was this speech of Webster's falling with crushing force upon the Abolitionists that called forth these terrible lines from Whittier:

So fallen! so lost! the light withdrawn
 Which once he wore!
 The glory from his gray hairs gone
 For evermore!

*The meaning of this term is "Thy glory has departed."

Reville him not, — the Tempter hath
 A snare for all;
 And pitying tears, not scorn and wrath
 Befit his fall!

O, dumb be passion's stormy rage,
 When he who might
 Have lighted up and led his age,
 Falls back in night.

Scorn! would the angels laugh, to mark
 A bright soul driven,
 Fiend-goaded, down the endless dark,
 From hope and heaven!

Let not the land once proud of him
 Insult him now,
 Nor brand with deeper shame his dim,
 Dishonored brow.

But let its humbled sons, instead,
 From sea to lake,
 A long lament, as for the dead,
 In sadness make.

Of all we loved and honored, naught
 Save power remains, —
 A fallen angel's pride of thought,
 Still strong in chains.

All else is gone, from those great eyes
 The soul has fled:
 When faith is lost, when honor dies,
 The man is dead!

Then pay the reverence of old days
 To his dead fame;
 Walk backward, with averted gaze,
 And hide the shame!

In speaking of the origin of this poem Whittier wrote:

"My admiration of the splendid personality and intellectual power of the great Senator was never stronger than when I laid down his speech and, in one of the saddest moments of my life, penned my protest. I saw, as I wrote, with painful clearness, its sure results, — the slave-power arrogant and defiant, strengthened and encouraged to carry out its scheme for the extension of its baleful system, or the dissolution of the Union, the guarantees of personal liberty in the free States broken down, and the whole country made the hunting-ground of slave-catchers. In the horror of such a vision, so soon fearfully fulfilled, if one spoke at all, he could only speak in tones of stern and sorrowful rebuke."

"This poem," observes Mr. Kennedy, "has been compared to Browning's 'Lost Leader':"

Just for a handful of silver he left us,
 Just for a riband to stick in his coat —

* * * *

He alone breaks from the van and the freemen,
 He alone sinks to the rear and the slaves.

* * * *

Deeds will be done — while he boasts his quiescence,
 Still bidding crouch whom the rest bade aspire;
 Blot out his name, then, record one lost soul more.

Of the poems composed in war time none are more stirring than "Ein Feste Burg," which opens with these memorable lines:

We wait beneath the furnace-blast
The pangs of transformation;
Not painlessly doth God recast
And mould anew the nation.
Hot burns the fire
Where wrongs expire;
Nor spares the hand
That from the land
Uproots the ancient evil.

This poem was set to music and sung with tremendous effect during the early days of the Civil War. After the battle of Bull Run, the famous Hutchinson family of singers entered the lines of the Army of the Potomac, hoping to reinvigorate the drooping spirits of the Union soldiers with their patriotic songs. On singing the "Ein Feste Burg," however, General McClellan requested them to leave the lines. The singers appealed to President Lincoln, and this poem was read by Secretary Chase to the President and the Cabinet, after which the President said: "It is just the kind of a song I wish the soldiers to hear." The Cabinet voted unanimously in favor of its being sung in the army, and the singers were readmitted to the national camps.

Just here it is interesting to note the martial spirit which pervades many of Whittier's lines, and his fondness for military imagery. It was Nathaniel Hawthorne who humorously alluded to him as "A fiery Quaker youth to whom the Muse had perversely assigned a battle trumpet." This fondness for the imagery of war perplexed Whittier not a little, and more than once when referring to it he expressed the conviction that there was somewhere in his make-up quite a dash of the blood of "the old sea-kings of the ninth century." Of course anything military was as foreign to the Quaker theory of life and practice as was the shedding of blood abhorrent to Whittier. Nevertheless, during the early days of the war many young Quakers laid aside their drab for the soldier uniform. In northern New Jersey, for example, a Quaker regiment was raised of one thousand members, much to the grief and dismay of many old and staid pillars in the Society of Friends. At one of its quarterly meetings, the martial occupation of these stray sheep brought forth severe criticism from a number of members, whereupon one sym-

pathizer with those who had donned the blue arose and told a little story :

"He said that his grandfather once had dealings with an obstreperous 'man of the world,' who provoked him until his patience was worn out. All at once he threw off his coat and laid it on the ground, saying, 'Lie there, Quaker, till I give this rascal his dues!' and then proceeded to give him a good drubbing."

The poet has given us a graphic pen picture of himself during the anti-slavery conflict in the following lines from "The Tent on the Beach :

And one there was, a dreamer born,
Who, with a mission to fulfil,
Had left the Muses' haunts to turn
The crank of an opinion-mill.
Making his rustic reed of song
A weapon in the war with wrong,
Yoking his fancy to the breaking-plough
That beam-deep turned the soil for truth to spring and grow.

Too quiet seemed the man to ride
The wingèd Hippogriff Reform;
Was his a voice from side to side
To pierce the tumult of the storm?
A silent, shy, peace-loving man,
He seemed no fiery partisan
To hold his way against the public frown,
The ban of Church and State, the fierce mob's hounding down.

For while he wrought with strenuous will
The work his hands had found to do,
He heard the fitful music still
Of winds that out of dreamland blew.
The din about him could not drown
What the strange voices whispered down;
Along his task-field weird processions swept,
The visionary pomp of stately phantoms stepped.

At length the long agony of suspense drew to a close. The fierce battle waged by the little Spartan band had given place to one of those profound awakenings which suggest the onswEEPing of a prairie fire. The arrogance of the government and the courts probably did more than the agitation of the Abolitionists to precipitate the war; but there can be no doubt but that the shafts of Garrison, the eloquence of Phillips, the clarion voice of brave Parker Pillsbury, the fiction of Mrs. Stowe, the stirring songs of the Hutchinson family, the writings of Horace Greeley, and, last but not least, the poems of Whittier and Lowell, were tremendous educational forces, and the tragic fate of John Brown gave great additional impetus to the cause of abolition.

When Sumter was fired upon, the North was electrified,

and war, grim and terrible, ensued, during which the evil of slavery went down, and with peace came a wider freedom than we had before recognized. Then the heart of our poet swelled with reverent thanksgiving, while it melted with pity for the misery, the heartaches, and the lives lost in the awful strife. One day the news came that the amendment had passed abolishing slavery in the United States, and Whittier, seated in a meeting-house of the Friends at Amesbury, heard the glad clanging of the bells in celebration of the event. The hour was one of the most impressive of his life. He was in the humble sanctuary of his people worshipping God; the merry pealing of the bells brought the message of a triumph of justice such as he had scarcely dared to pray for; and his breast became tremulous with emotion, his brain throbbed with exultant thoughts, a great song of triumph and thanksgiving rose in his soul, a song destined to live so long as our language endures. And that is how the following magnificent poem, known as "Laus Deo!" came to be written.

It is done.
Clang of bell and roar of gun
Send the tidings up and down.
How the belfries rock and reel!
How the great guns, peal on peal,
Fling the joy from town to town!

Ring, O bells!
Every stroke exulting tells
Of the burial hour of crime.
Loud and long, that all may hear,
Ring for every listening ear
Of eternity and time.

Let us kneel.
God's own voice is in that peal,
And this spot is holy ground.
Lord, forgive us! What are we,
That our eyes this glory see,
That our ears have heard the sound!

For the Lord
On the whirlwind is abroad;
In the earthquake he has spoken;
He has smitten with his thunder
The iron walls asunder,
And the gates of brass are broken!

Loud and long
Lift the old exulting song;
Sing with Miriam by the sea,
He has cast the mighty down;
Horse and rider sink and drown;
"He hath triumphed gloriously."

Did we dare
 In our agony of prayer
 Ask for more than he has done?
 When was ever his right hand
 Over any time or land
 Stretched as now beneath the sun?

How they pale!
 Ancient myth and song and tale,
 In this wonder of our days,
 When the cruel rod of war
 Blossoms white with righteous law,
 And the wrath of man is praise!

Blotted out!
 All within and all about
 Shall a fresher life begin;
 Freer breathe the universe
 As it rolls its heavy curse
 On the dead and buried sin!

It is done!
 In the circuit of the sun
 Shall the sound thereof go forth.
 It shall bid the sad rejoice,
 It shall give the dumb a voice,
 It shall belt with joy the earth!

Ring and swing,
 Bells of joy! On morning's wing
 Send the song of praise abroad.
 With a sound of broken chains
 Tell the nations that He reigns
 Who alone is Lord and God!

The crude earthly remains of this conscientious prophet of freedom rest in mother earth, but he sleepeth not. God's children do not slumber; and is it unreasonable to believe that his awakened soul is with all those on earth to-day and especially with the oppressed wealth creators of the West and the sunny southland, both white and black, who suffer through unjust social conditions? The exile of Patmos when he beheld the bright vision fell on his knees in the attitude of worship, but the voice of the Spirit announced to him that he was of his fellow-workers the prophets and disciples who had gone before. And to me it seems most reasonable that the spirit of Whittier should be to-day working with those who are bravely making a stand against oppression no less worthy than that made by Washington, Jefferson, and Adams in an earlier day. Believing as I do that those who live up to their highest on earth are permitted to come back to inspire, impress, and encourage those who are true to their sacred trust in the battle for freedom, fundamen-

tal justice, human brotherhood, and enduring progress, I see no reason to doubt but what New England's poet of freedom may be influencing noble men and women with whom he may come in touch throughout the length and breadth of the world to-day, to consecrated lives in the cause of true civilization.

MONOPOLY AND THE MINES OF MINNESOTA.

BY C. J. BUELL.

It was once remarked by J. Adam Bede, at the time when he was United States Marshal for Minnesota, that "when the Creator had finished making the earth, he found he had left a fine assortment of rich iron mines. Not knowing what else to do with them, he dropped them in the woods up north of Duluth; and now the fellows that found them there claim they can't dig that ore with a steam-shovel unless they have a tariff to help them."

Whether or not the owners could dig ore without a tariff, true it is that those same mine owners and a gang of iron land speculators organized a mob and burned in effigy, in the streets of Duluth, the gallant Major Baldwin, Congressman from the Sixth District of Minnesota, because he ignored their threats, refused to do their bidding, and voted to put iron ore on the free list.

Whatever the injustice of the tariff,—and it is great,—however much the tariff on iron and its products has robbed the people for the benefit of a few mine owners and manufacturers,—and that robbery has been gigantic, inexcusable, and iniquitous,—these things are small and puny when compared with the stupendous system of plunder that has been established in northern Minnesota for the benefit of a few monopolists who own the mines and the railways that take the ore to Lake Superior.

It is the purpose of this brief paper to show how the system works, and to suggest a remedy for the evil.

Take your old geography and trace through northeastern Minnesota what is marked on the map as the Height of Land. This "Height of Land" is a low, generally flat watershed which divides the streams that empty into Lake Superior from those which flow northward into the Rainy River and at last reach the ocean through Hudson's Bay.

A continuous succession of swamp and low hills, heavily timbered and thickly dotted with small lakes,—such is this Height of Land in which are found the richest iron mines in the world and by far the easiest to work.

Remove a few feet of loose sand and gravel, in places not more than two or three, but usually from eight or ten to twenty or thirty, and there before you lies a solid bed of iron ore of the greatest richness, perhaps sixty, perhaps several hundred feet thick. One mine has been bored over three hundred and twenty feet and no bottom yet.

I said "a solid bed of iron ore." It is solid only in the sense of being continuous, and all iron from top to bottom; but in most of the mines the ore is far from being *solid* in the usual sense of the word, for it is loose like a bed of sand or gravel and about as easily worked. As soon as the surface dirt has been stripped off, the ore can be very easily loaded into the cars with a steam-shovel.

Some of these mines are still the property of the people of Minnesota, but many of them are in the hands of private owners.

The State charges a royalty of twenty-five cents a ton. This royalty is fixed by law and is the same for all mines, whether easy or hard to work, and for all ore, whether low or high grade.

The private owners, of course, charge all the royalty they can get. Competition among operators has now fixed royalties at about fifty cents a ton, though some are paying as high as sixty-five, in mines that are specially rich or favorably located.

We can now begin to see how the people are plundered and how the monopolists wax fat.

Said the editor of *The Missabe Range* to me, as we were discussing the situation: "The fee-owners and the railways have got the earth, and the rest of us are their slaves." That he told but the truth will be plain when we examine the facts.

THE BIWABIE MINE.

The title to the land on which this mine is located is owned by John M. Williams of Chicago. He bought it some years ago for the pine timber and paid \$1.25 per acre. Some one else found the iron; some one else digs it. All Williams does is to graciously permit other people to take ore out of the earth. For this he receives twenty-five cents a ton from the Rockefeller combination. Does Mr. Rockefeller dig ore? Oh, bless you! no. He can make money easier than that. He and his company allow the Biwabie Bessemer Company to dig ore on condition that they pay him fifty cents a ton, and

bind themselves with an ironclad contract to pay this royalty on a definite number of tons per annum, whether they dig any ore at all or not.

The situation at Biwabie is substantially duplicated at Virginia, Mount Iron, and Eveleth.

Two railways furnish outlets for most of the mines on the Missabe Range. The Duluth, Missabe Range and Northern reaches the lake at Duluth. The Duluth and Iron Range road, owned by the Minnesota Iron Company, docks its ore at Two Harbors.

"Of course," I hear you say, "these two roads compete for the business of hauling ore to the lake." *Of course* they do no such thing. It is just as easy to combine as to compete, and far more profitable. The charge on either road is eighty cents per ton from any point on the range.

The Biwabie Bessemer Company have sold ore in Cleveland as low as \$2.65 a ton. Where is the "foreign pauper ore" that can equal that price?

But let us see who get the \$2.65, and what each does for his share.

John M. Williams of Chicago gets twenty-five cents a ton net. For this he does absolutely nothing, except to perform the exceedingly laborious task of signing a lease to the Rockefeller Company, or rather, to their predecessors. He does not pay one cent of tax for road or school, town or village, State or nation. An interesting law on the statute books of Minnesota exempts all mineral lands from every form of State and local taxation, and the great American nation taxes people on their food, clothing, and other necessities of life, so that our millionnaires may go free.

John M., as you will notice, is an "enterprising citizen."

The Rockefeller combination gets from the Biwabie Bessemer Company fifty cents a ton, but pays Williams twenty-five, leaving twenty-five cents net. For this the Rockefeller Company does just as much as Williams, and no more.

The same company gets eighty cents a ton for hauling the ore to Duluth, a distance of seventy-five miles, all down grade. Five men in eight hours take one thousand tons of ore to Duluth, unload, and bring the train back. According to the company's own estimate, twenty-five cents a ton covers the entire cost, thus leaving a clear steal of fifty-five cents on every ton taken from the mines to the lake.

Lake freights were about eighty-five cents a ton from

Duluth to Cleveland. As lake transportation is subject to free competition, there is probably no steal or monopoly profit in this item of cost.

Deducting these items from \$2.65, the price the ore was sold for in Cleveland, leaves just fifty cents a ton for the Biwabie Bessemer Company. They pay all the cost of stripping the mine ready for work; hire all the labor to dig the ore and put it into the cars; make up the train ready to attach the engine; pay interest on the capital invested in steam-shovels and other necessary machinery; insure against loss on the lake; and pay the one cent a ton State tax.

What a showing! One dollar and sixty cents goes to labor and capital for all the work of placing the ore in Cleveland. One dollar and five cents a ton goes into the pockets of Williams and Rockefeller for permission to use the earth and for stealage on transportation. Do you wonder that starvation wages were paid, and that legitimate capital had little or no return? Do you wonder that Rockefeller and Williams are rich and the miners live in squalid huts?

The editor was right. The fee-holders and the railway companies *do* own the earth, in that region, at least, and the people are their slaves.

Recently the price of ore has risen. Having a contract with the earth owners for some time to come, the Biwabie Bessemer Company have raised wages to \$1.50 or more per day, and will, perhaps, make some profit on their business. But wait till their contract with Rockefeller and his contract with Williams expire, and then see the royalty go up, if ore continues to bring a good price. Then Williams will take all the royalty the mine will pay. Rockefeller will have only his transportation steal, and labor and capital will be just where they are now.

I have gone into details as to this one mine, because it illustrates the whole case most perfectly, and shows how completely the fee-owners and railway companies are masters of the situation.

What really makes it far worse is the fact that the Rockefeller combination and the Minnesota Iron Company now own many of the best mines, and also possess the only highways over which ore must be carried to market, and are therefore in a position to freeze out other mine-owners and operating companies.

That they make use of this advantage must be plain to all,

and is fully proved by the fact that the Minnesota Iron Company recently bought the Fayall mine, one of the richest on the range, for the paltry sum of \$40,000. And I am informed that the owners of another very rich mine are about to sell to the Rockefeller Company for only \$60,000. In a few years, at the present rate, these two companies will own all the available mines, and then a little longer and Rockefeller will control it all.

Is there no remedy for this? Must the richest iron mines in the world fall into the grasp of this conscienceless corruptionist who already possesses the world's oil lands?

That will depend upon the people, — whether or not they study the question intelligently and solve it.

THE REMEDY.

A very simple remedy offers itself, — or rather two remedies, one for each part of the disease.

The *fee-owners* and the *railways each* has a monopoly.

As many people look upon railway monopoly as the greatest and most threatening evil of our times, let us consider that matter first.

Railway monopoly, so far as it relates to this particular case, can be perfectly and forever destroyed by building a double track road from Lake Superior to the mines, paid for by proportionate assessments against the beneficiaries, owned and controlled by the whole people, like any other public highway, over which all carriers may transport ore free of charge or toll, just as the boat-owners on the lakes have a free highway from Duluth to Cleveland. Then any mining company or private miner could take their own ore to the lake if they thought charges were too high. The roadway being free and open to all alike, there would be no more chance for monopoly than there is now on lake or river. Charges to Lake Superior would immediately fall to twenty-five cents or less per ton, and would continue to grow less with every improvement in the carrying trade.

Railway monopoly is due wholly to the fact that we permit one corporation to own the highway, and exclude all competitors from the carrying trade thereon. Make the roadbeds free public highways, and the carrying trade will need no regulation.

But suppose free public highways are provided so that the cost of transporting ore from the mines to the smelting

furnaces is reduced to the lowest price that free competition can offer, who then will get the benefit? No mine can be operated at all without permission from the fee-owner. What effect will cheaper railway charges have upon John M. Williams, who owns the Biwabie mine, or on any other fee-owner, for that matter?

Mr. Williams of Chicago would reason about in this fashion: "It now costs the mining company about fifty-five cents less than formerly to take their ore to market, therefore they can afford to pay me that much more for permission to use the mine. They *must* use the mine or go out of business. I won't be very hard on them. When the present contract expires I will fix the royalty at \$1 per ton for a while. Probably I can get more after further improvements in mining are made or greater reductions are possible in freight rates. I will deal directly with the mining company and thus save what Rockefeller now gets."

So Williams takes his dollar or more per ton, and the mining company and their workmen — capital and labor — are just as well off as before, — no better; while Williams, representing landlordism, pockets all the gains.

By all means let us have a free public road into the mines, but don't let us fool ourselves with the notion that from this reform alone labor and industry will reap any lasting benefit.

The only effect would be to simplify the situation. Instead of "the railways *and* the fee-owners," our editor would then declare, "The *fee-owners* possess the earth, and the rest of us are *their* slaves."

What shall be done with the fee-owners?

Briefly this: Tax them out. The millions they absorb in royalties are none of their creation. The present system of absolute exemption of fee-owners from all forms of taxation is a strong inducement to exact the last cent of royalty before permitting the land to be used at all. These royalty values that the fee-owners now absorb are created by the people, not by the fee-owners. The people therefore have a right to them, and should so adjust their system of taxation as to put them into the public treasury where they belong. Fee-owners would then be as anxious to get their mines opened and developed as they are now to exact the utmost royalty or hold idle.

What of the iron lands still owned by the State? The present law, arbitrarily fixing twenty-five cents a ton as

the royalty on all mines, good or bad, should be so changed that at the expiration of present contracts each mine should be leased on its merits to the highest bidder, thus turning into the State treasury the full value of the privilege, be it much or little. The present arbitrary twenty-five-cent royalty results in making to the first lease-holders a free donation of more than half of the people's property in these mines.

The problem is simple and requires only a little common sense in its treatment.

First. Tax out the speculators and mine-grabbers, and restore to the people the heritage that a bountiful nature has put here for them. Whether the fee is still in the State or in a private holder, the full annual value of the privilege belongs to the whole people of Minnesota and must be returned to the State treasury.

Second. Make the necessary highways to the lake, and open them to all carriers without toll or charge.

Monopolized highways and the earth for the grabbers, — this policy has made an earthly hell for the workers, while piling up untold millions for the monopolists.

“Free highways and the land for the people” must be our motto. Then nature's bounties shall be for all, and northern Minnesota shall pour out her wealth and bless all mankind.

THE MENTAL CURE IN ITS RELATION TO MODERN THOUGHT.

BY HORATIO W. DRESSER.

Now that the philosophy and practice of the mental cure have won an assured place among the progressive factors of our time, both as an essential means of alleviating human suffering and as a health-giving system of thought, it may be well briefly to consider the new movement in its larger sense as an outgrowth of the age and in the light of its actual service to the world.

It is to-day almost a truism to affirm that any new doctrine which wins the permanent interest of mankind supplements and modifies, but never wholly displaces, what experience has already proved true. Its advocates may make extravagant claims for it, and it may for a time seem wholly revolutionary or wholly new. But gradually, as it comes in contact with well-established doctrines, it is fitted in with what we already know, and usually it is found to be, at least in germ, as old as human thought.

And so with this new philosophy of daily conduct and healing, with its original theories of disease and its stimulating teaching in regard to the supremacy and power of mind. There are those who deem the new theory all-sufficient and express their willingness to dispense not only with all books but with all doctrines, save this one radical teaching. But the new movement was not thus exclusive and self-sufficient when it began, nor can it hope to interest those who have hitherto been repelled by it, or to join hands with natural science until it assumes a more modest attitude and is relieved through controversy of many of its crudities.

It was the aim of its originator to establish a science of health and happiness which, based on a just psychology and on a rational interpretation of human life, should enable men and women in all the walks of life to lead sounder and better lives. More than half a century ago he began in that quiet way in which all great movements originate to investigate the human mind, the effect upon it of beliefs and sug-

gestions, and more especially all that contributed mentally both to the cause and cure of disease. With rare patience and persistence, working entirely alone and in a new field, he not only made certain important discoveries in regard to our mental nature, but developed the method of cure which enabled him to heal diseases of all kinds and which, adopted by thousands of workers since his time, has brought untold relief to suffering humanity.

At its very outset then, and long before it emerged into the larger world of scientific discussion, the mental cure was a part of a widespread movement which had for its object a better understanding both of the origin and the nature of man. It sought to emancipate man from his bondage to opinion and superstition, and to place all knowledge on a firm scientific basis. Its first maxim was, Prove all things; and if it has departed from its practical ideal and become a dogmatic worship of a few leaders of strong personality, its deviation from the path of science is only for a time. Many of its most earnest workers already take this larger view of it—as a phase of modern thought—and are seeking to join forces with natural science. The time is not far distant when scientific men will deem it fully worth their while to investigate the phenomena of mental cure, and even the church will overcome its antagonistic spirit and find it essential to its continued hold upon people to add this most vital application of all that seems spiritually true. In fact some of our most advanced thinkers have already expressed the belief that “there is a truth there.” But they have thus far been deterred from investigation by the unattractive garb in which the new thought has been clothed, unaware that there is a phase of the subject which is infinitely more practical, a line of thought which, making no claims for itself and revolving around no personality, is slowly working its way to the front as an essential factor in the progress of science.

This more practical phase of the mental cure is positive in its teaching rather than negative. It does not deny the existence of matter, of the body, nor of certain conditions which in ill-health seem as real as life itself. It frankly admits all that really exists; but having made this admission, it reserves the right to explain the nature of reality. Its first step is to distinguish between the two natures or selves of man, the one that is truly spiritual and partakes of the great Unchangeable and the one that is composed of chang-

ing opinions and beliefs. The latter self includes the unconscious or sub-conscious mind, and is described as a sensitive impression plate or as a sort of spiritual matter readily moulded by fears, beliefs, and all that constitutes the passing consciousness of man, in which ideas are sown like seed in the ground where they germinate, come forth, and find expression in the body. Any belief or state of feeling which wins the attention or becomes all-absorbing therefore plays its part in health and disease; for "whatever we believe, that we create." The direction of mind is fundamental and carries with it the activities of the whole being. Man is always *devoted* to something, momentarily or permanently, and it is the *idea* which shapes his conduct, even though the thought influence be so subtle that he seems to be leading a merely physical existence. He approaches every experience with some opinion, some feeling of expectancy, and however potent the physical forces wielded by thought, and whatever the result produced upon him, the attitude of mind is at once the guiding principle and the cause of all that he enjoys or suffers. Man's happiness and misery therefore depend primarily upon himself, on the way he takes life, and on the degree of his intelligence.

Disease is not a mere belief, nor is it a purely physical condition any more than the facts of every-day experience. It is very often a state of the entire *individual*, and in order to effect its permanent cure the entire mental attitude must be changed so that every obstacle to nature's restorative power shall be removed. If the person is impetuous, excitable, nervous, opinionated, hard to influence, easily roused, or whatever the disposition may be, this most prominent characteristic is sure to modify both the disease and its cure. Oftentimes this *is* the disease; the disposition is at fault, the person is always creating trouble and is bound to continue in disease until the person undertakes the task of overcoming self with a will. The soul is restricted, undeveloped, or imprisoned in false beliefs about disease and religion. Something must touch the soul, explain the effect upon it of narrowing beliefs and fears, and aid it to come into a freer and healthier atmosphere. This the mental practitioner can do, and oftentimes the treatment consists largely of audible explanations, showing how all these subtle mental influences, inherited beliefs, fears, and temperamental effects have injured the health. Such treatment strikes directly at

the root of the difficulty, and may of course be adapted to the particular case. It has been the means of transforming a vast number of lives, of reaching cases where all other methods have failed, and of performing cures both of chronic and of organic diseases which were almost miraculous. It makes people think and investigate who never thought seriously before. It shows that there is a natural law of cure in every case which one may take advantage of by maintaining a firm, hopeful, happy attitude of mind in the right direction, away from physical sensation, belief in disease as an entity, fears, doubts, and all that tends to keep one in ill-health. It teaches one to open out, to aspire, to turn away from all that is transiently belittling and painful to that higher Self whose abode is eternity, from whence one may draw new life and power.

For, deeper than the mere passing beliefs or states of thought, which bring happiness or misery according to their nature, is the real man or the spiritual senses which, in reality independent of matter and a part of that great Spirit to which all men belong, are capable of overcoming such states of mind with their physical effects as may prove harmful, and of giving wiser direction to the natural activities. It is therefore of the greatest importance that individual man should understand himself, not only in his relations to society and in the light of the subtle mental influences by which every one is surrounded, but in the light of his profoundest relations to the source of all goodness, wisdom, and love.

As thus understood the mental cure in its fullest sense and at its best becomes a life, a religion, an education of the whole individual, and it thus joins hands with all that is most ennobling and progressive in human thought. It strikes deeper into the very heart of things than former theories, and brings to light not only the hidden effects of mind on mind, but unsuspected applications of truths which have long been cherished but never realized in actual life. It is not simply a method of cure alone, nor does it claim, as a method of cure, to reach all cases at once and do away with the really intelligent doctor and the skilful surgeon. But it does claim to modify all cases, even the most severe, and in the hands of practitioners of all schools it is sure to meet a crying need among the sick and suffering.

In a restricted sense it is a natural development, called

out to meet the needs of the many finely organized people of our day with whom material remedies are of no avail. It is one of those wise provisions in the economy of nature which minister to man's needs when a remedy becomes absolutely essential to his preservation. It is a step in advance of the older methods of cure, and is gradually preparing the way for a time when man shall be able to do without medicine and be his own physician. As a product of American thought, and nurtured in the land of liberty and progress, it is playing its part in the emancipation of man and the development of a sound individualism. It teaches man to look within for help and strength, to cultivate self-reliance and poise, instead of hurrying to a doctor or to some friend with the rehearsal of every little ailment as though he were incapable of mastering his own fears; to look to his own nature and his own conduct as the prime cause of all that he suffers, and to overcome all suffering by developing individuality and mental freedom. In a word, it deals with the cause and not the effect, and seeks to remove disease by teaching man how it is made through his own ignorance and misinterpretation of sensation.

As an aid to modern medical science, then, the mental cure may be of inestimable service, and no line of investigation would better repay the progressive doctor to-day than a scientific inquiry into the facts and phenomena of mental healing. The regular physician would not only learn much about the real nature of disease, but would get new light in regard to its cure; for the new movement, proceeding on a different basis and relying on an intuitive rather than a physical diagnosis of disease, has already disproved many of the prevailing theories of disease and shown that there is a power which is capable of assisting nature in a far more direct way than by the use of medicine. It is a suggestive fact also that a large proportion of the cases which come under the care of the mental practitioner are those which have been given up by the best physicians of the regular school. The practice of hypnotism has already demonstrated that the human mind is wonderfully susceptible to suggestion, and if the direction of mind, permanent or transient, is really fundamental, if the effect produced on us by medicine, by any method of cure we may employ, largely depends on the opinion we put into it, then medical science must strike at the root of the matter, it must deal more directly with the

mind instead of giving remedies and performing operations in order to remove physical effects. When doctors shall display genuine understanding of the human mind in its relation to health and disease, instead of giving one opinion one day and another the next, based on a physical diagnosis, then the more intelligent portion of the community will have far more confidence in them than they display to-day.

As an aid to psychology and to psychic science the new movement could also be of great service, for it throws much light on the nature of mind in its relation to the body. Most practitioners of the new method have had a long series of experiences pointing to the belief that man has an identity independent of matter through which he can communicate mentally, perceive objects at a distance, take the feelings and thoughts of others, and give shape to his physical life, — an identity which fits him to continue his existence after death as a living soul.

Educationally, the new thought might be of invaluable service; and when children are taught this healthier theory of disease there will surely be much less sickness in the world. It is a philosophy of encouragement, and urges the young to develop the best that is in them, and to find repose through wise self-development, since every suppressed ambition, every element of one's nature that is not understood, creates friction and has its ultimate effect on the health, while true education is always health-giving.

Philosophically, the new thought lends its support to an idealistic or spiritual as opposed to a material view of the universe; it emphasizes the conscious aspect of life as the most real and powerful, and furnishes a strong argument in favor of the intimate and universal presence of an infinite Spirit, to the nearness of which the advocates of this new method attribute the healing power which they know to be something superior to their purely personal selves.

But it is as a life, a practical health-giving mode of conduct which one may carry into every detail of daily experience, — into business, pleasure, society, — that the new doctrine is seen at its best. In this sense it is a preventive rather than a cure of disease. It turns the thought habitually into wiser and happier channels, away from the absurd notion that every one must have certain diseases, and shows one how to become poised, well adjusted to life, and how to take life easier and at its best. It is philosophy and religion made

one with daily life, and as such it is a decided advance over all previous theories which tend to separate theory and practice. It is throughout a positive, hopeful, stimulating doctrine, sympathetic rather than exclusive and critical, never directly opposing the doctrines which it supersedes, yet quietly playing its part in the evolution of the race and preparing the way for the grander and better man of the twentieth century.

THE VALLEY PATH.

A NOVEL OF TENNESSEE LIFE.

BY WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE.

CHAPTER X.

Joe had not stopped in the valley as Mrs. Tucker feared, to waylay Dr. Boring. The physician had judged him more correctly. Joe was not a coward; he would shoot him with half an excuse for doing so; he would go further and create the opportunity; but he would not, except it be upon impulse, shoot from ambush.

Joe rode past the cabin in the valley without turning his head; he was riding the black, spirited colt he had lately purchased, alas! for Alicia when Alicia should be his wife. The fact did not augment his good humor. He rode briskly by, sitting his mount like an Indian, down to Winchester, where he spent the day loafing and nursing his wrath among the usual Saturday visitors to town. Bowen was not a drinker; when he drank it was more as a frolic than a brunt to bad feeling or a taste for alcohol.

He was not in a humor for fun, so he sat by, sullen and unhappy, listening to the gossip, political and social, until the dusky red of twilight sent the gossipers on their homeward way. Still he lingered, loath to return to his desolate hearth, shorn as it was of the bright dreams that had been his fire-side friends of late.

It was past nine when he rode down the valley. Far before him he saw the round, red eye which he knew to be the doctor's window, through which the mingled glow of lamp and firelight streamed out upon the night and sent its good, glad glow far down the valley, a guide to the benighted, a promise to the wanderer pushing homeward through the darkness.

Something in its brightness appealed to Joe: there came to him a feeling that the world was not after all so desolately cheerless as he had fancied. He followed the tiny ray without realizing it for a while; thinking, without realizing it also,

how good the warmth must be within that little valley home; how dark outside, and how cold. His horse's hoofs struck the frozen earth with a harshness that seemed to ring and vibrate. The contrast suddenly opened about and faced him,—their two lives, the difference of surroundings, the warmth within where *he* was, the blackness of night which accompanied *him*. Yet he did not care for these things, he was not so small as that. But that this man, with all the favor of fortune, with ease, comfort, everything,—that he should seek to rob him, *had* robbed him of the one single flower that had ever lifted its face to gladden the humble path where fate had set *him* down,—this was the sting, this was the injustice which rankled and burned and turned his natural goodness to hate.

"He ain't fittin' ter live," he muttered between his strong, set teeth. "He ain't fittin' ter be *let* live. If I ware ter aim a bullet square at that red pane o' winder it would find his gray head straight as straight. An' it air no more than he deserves, a bullet ain't. But I ain't that low, I reckon, to shoot a man in the back. Naw, Lord! if I kill a bird I let it git the start. I'll be as gen'rous ter a man as I am ter a pa'tridge, though he ain't as deservin'."

He still carried his gun slung across the saddle bow, and the red pane drew nearer, seemed to grow, to expand, until eighteen small square panes took shape, every pane aglow, and beyond them the doctor's large gray head, resting upon his hand, his elbow upon the table near which he sat reading.

The devil whispered in Joe's ear a dastardly thing, a thing too cowardly mean for the eye of God's good daylight. Only under cover of night could such a deed find birth. But it came so sharp and strong, was so irresistibly fascinating, so fiendishly fraught with the sweetness of revenge complete, that he had no reason left with which to meet the terrible temptation.

Quick as a flash he lifted his rifle to his shoulder and took aim; his keen eye flashed along the muzzle for a single instant; his finger pressed the trigger, which refused to act; an instant yet, and the gray head was lifted; the calmly gentle face turned as if to catch a sound for which the ear had waited, then the figure vanished.

The next moment the door opened, and from it came a stream of crimson light that lay upon the darkness like a path of fire. In the very centre of it stood the doctor, erect and

fearless. What a target he made against the light as he stood with his back to the door and his arms outspread, resting a hand on either casing! Joe uttered an oath, and dropped his rifle with a sudden snap which brought the hammer of the old-fashioned weapon down upon his finger clumsily feeling for the cock. The noise of his horse's hoofs sounded in his ears like drums beating furiously. Suddenly the doctor put his hands to his mouth and hailed:

"Oh, Joe! Bowen!" The only evidence that Joe heard was the sudden silence as the rider brought his horse to a standstill. The physician accepted the silence for attention. "Come by," said he. "Stop: I want to see you."

It was an instance of the incomprehensible power of will, the stronger over the weaker. The very attitude of the man standing there defying danger, the mere tone of voice, all had about it that which compelled obedience.

Joe hesitated an instant only, and wheeled his horse into the footpath leading to the doctor's gate.

The physician stood in the doorway while his visitor twisted his bridle into the iron ring dangling from the hitching-post which few callers ever saw, the limbs of the trees being more familiar to the service. He came up the walk, gun in hand, his long, gaunt shadow growing longer and more gaunt with every step toward the light.

"Come in; walk right in there to the fire; you must be half frozen. Nobody there but Zip; Zip and I are making ourselves comfortable after our own ideas. Do likewise, do likewise. I will join you in just a minute."

Scarcely knowing what he did, and inwardly cursing himself for "a dad blamed fool," Bowen obeyed. The room was tempting; the doctor himself was tempting; even the terrier curled up on the hair sofa looked up with an air which said, "Well now, we are comfortable." There was a homeliness about it all that invited confidence.

In a moment the doctor returned. The first object to arrest his eye was the old flintlock rifle leaning against the wall; the next moment he saw the hand resting upon Joe's knee, with the blood slowly oozing from a wound in the right forefinger.

"Why, man," said the physician, "you have hurt yourself. Wheel about to the light and let us have a look at it. Sure it isn't another case of hornet sting?"

The guilty crimson swept the boyish face turned for a

moment to the lamplight. He had forgotten all about the wounded hand, so much sharper had been the hurt in the heart.

"I reckon it ain't much," he said with sullen indifference and making an effort to conceal his hand under the palm of the other.

"Oh, come now," said the doctor, "this will not do. Put it out here; that is what I'm here for. You wouldn't cheat an old man out of his trade, would you? Give me your hand, boy."

He had been arranging a few simple implements while he talked — a case of steels, a sheet of plaster, a roll of soft, starchless linen lay on the table.

Joe eyed him sullenly. Suddenly he rose; his tall, straight figure towered above the other like the figure of a young Goliath. His eyes flashed, and from the uplifted wounded finger drops of bright red blood trickled the length of his hand, disappearing under his sleeve.

"Damn you," he hissed. "Say out what you've got to say; I ain't here to fool an' palaver with you-uns. I see you at that thar table when I rid up, an' I ware tempted to put a bullet into you. I had my gun aimed, cocked, when you moved off out of range. An' the damn thing snapped, ketchin' of my finger. That's how come the wound you're beggin' leave ter patch up. An' it ware me killed your horse, the fine colt. I done it to make sure you'd never saddle Lissy Reams on to hit, like you done on t'other one. An' it ware me — oh, damn it all! Git up from thar an' kick me out. Or else come outside an' fight it out like men fight. An' if you whip me you may take the girl an' go to the devil, an' I'll quit the country. But don't, in God A'mighty's name, set thar saaft-sawderin' o' me. I can't take it, an' I won't."

The doctor slowly rose; he was trembling. Afraid? For a moment Joe thought so. Only for a moment, however; until he saw the face of the man. There was no agitation in the calm eyes, although the hand which he rested upon the table to steady himself shook.

"The man who would fight with me," said he, "must content himself with a very one-sided battle. And the coward lying for my life like a thief outside my window, under cover of night and of darkness, will not find lack of opportunity for taking it. The day has never dawned that found me afraid

to die. To the honest man always, death is only a part of God's plan, and let it come when and as it will can neither alter nor affect that plan.

"To me life has never brought an hour that found me unwilling to lay it down; never a gift so fair that I have sighed for its renunciation. Do you suppose that I am afraid of *you?* of *any* man? That I would have moved my head the fraction of an inch in order to dodge your coward-bullet? Do the old, you think, find life so full, its happiness so vast, that they hug it like a miser his gold? Sometimes perhaps, but it is where ties are many and love has outlived years. Not so with me; I am an old man as compared with you: the fifty years that have slipped the measure in my glass were not so many grains of gold to dazzle and amuse, but so much of good life and strength stripped from the old shell called manhood. Sit down there. I want to tell you a story: having told it, you know where your gun is; and the window will not be closed. Sit down, man; don't be a fool, if you can help it."

He forced him to the chair again, and again began to adjust his surgical instruments.

"Give me your hand; now while I patch this hole up all I ask of you is to listen. I have always refused to believe you a coward. It remains to be seen whether or not you are the fool your recent conduct would argue."

Accustomed to the sick, he had long ago learned to exact obedience of his patients. This man was as truly his patient as if he were suffering some acute disease of the body. And as such he treated him. The dark face lost something of its angry defiance, while the restless eyes furtively followed the deft fingers patting a bit of plaster upon the ugly pinch the rifle had made in the long forefinger. There was an illusive sweetness in the voice that pronounced him "a fool," a something that soothed even while it condemned. Before the doctor had proceeded well into his story Joe began to suspect that he was right, that he was "a fool."

"I find," said the doctor, "that in order to get your thoughts at rest I must tell you a little story that concerns chiefly myself. I had hoped that it was buried forever, or until the last resurrection of all pain. I am an old man at fifty, older than you will be at seventy. At twenty I left college, at twenty-two was a practising physician. That I made success of my profession no one ever denied. Life held

fair promises for me. I was not a Christian, as the world accepts the term. I denied many things, doubted more that orthodoxy accepted. Mine is an open nature, and I saw no reason for concealment; so that everybody who knew me knew my creed, if I had one. That I have done some good the poor will bear me witness at the last. If I have harmed any man I do not know it. I made myself a place and practice. At last there came into my life a being who changed its current; awoke the heart within me; played upon its every string; sounded every depth, knew every shallow of my nature. It was at the bedside of her dying father that we first met; we became lovers, plighted our troth, were soon to have been married. She was poor; I had plenty. That she was influenced by my wealth was a thought too insulting to have lodging in the same heart which held her. If I found her lacking in demonstration of affection I attributed it to maiden modesty and was content. She was a Christian, after the favored order. There was in her family a cousin, a reckless young fellow who hung about her a good deal, but of whom I had as little jealousy as I have, or might have, of my terrier asleep there on my couch.

"My wedding day was fixed, was near; but two days gaped between my happiness and me. My best man was an old college chum, whom I had lifted out of debt, saved from disgrace once, and given many a turn along the way. The day before that fixed for my marriage I met him, but when I would have greeted him he turned his face away. Was he angry, drunk? I crossed the street and faced him; he was laughing. He looked so guilty, Joe, so vulgarly guilty, that with my left I grasped my right hand in order not to strike him. It was only for an instant, however; in a twinkling he was himself again. But for the life of me I couldn't rest. I felt that I had done my friend injustice. I sought him out again before the day was done.

"'Jack,' said I, 'go down and get my gloves for me. You've got good taste about such things.'

"'Oh, let the gloves be, Doc,' was his reply; 'there's time enough. I'll see to them, old boy — *in time*.'

"That night I called on Alice. I never saw her half so radiant, so superbly lovely. I was all happiness; one thing only came between my joy and me. She refused my good-night kiss. I left her early; she wanted her beauty sleep, she said. And since it was her last day of girlhood I re-

signed her to herself, knowing it was the last time. When I reached my room I read a chapter from a little velvet Bible, her gift, which to please her I had promised to read daily.

"The following morning I went early to my office; the few acquaintances I met upon the street dodged me, unmistakably dodged me.

"As I was passing the house of a man who had been my father's friend and as stanchly mine, I saw him open the door and come down the walk to the gate. I said good morning from across the street, and would have passed on, but that he called to me.

"'Come in,' said he. 'I want to see you: have been watching at the window for you.'

"I crossed over and went in. I remember that the sun shone, and that there were scarlet gladioli blooming in the window although it was bitter cold.

"He led me in, motioned to a chair, himself took one, and then I saw his face. Something dreadful had happened. I waited for him to go on.

"'Bart,' said he, 'I had rather cut my tongue out than to tell you —'

"'Is something wrong?' said I. 'Tell me; let me help you if I can.'

"He motioned me to silence. 'The trouble,' said he, 'is not mine, but yours.'

"'Mine?'

"'Brace yourself to hear it,' said he. 'It isn't a sweet duty to dash a man's happiness to death, to crush both pride and joy at a blow.'

"He was sparring, as he thought, mercifully. But I cut him off. 'Tell me,' said I, 'I'm not a child, what is it that has happened?'

"It was Alice; she had run away the night before, eloped, and been married to her cousin.

"Bowen, it struck me like an iron hammer. My head dropped on my breast like lead: my heart that had held warm blood turned to ice while I listened to the story of her falseness, my shame and my betrayal by my friend; for Jack was one of the attendants and witnesses; had helped her to elude me; gone with her upon her midnight visit to a little country clergyman who had married the runaways. I heard it all, the shameful, cruel story, and then I roused myself to meet my fate, scarcely harder to encounter than the smiles

or the unspoken sympathy, as it chanced, from those who saw the humor or the pathos of the situation. There was one who saw the tragedy,—my mother, and it killed her.

"I heard the story through and then I lifted my head.

"‘It's pretty hard,’ I said, ‘but I think that I can bear it.’

"He grasped my hand, pressed it and burst into tears.

"I went to my room with head erect; I greeted my friends along the way. They looked at me as if they thought me mad.

"Opening my door, the first thing that met my eye was the little velvet Bible open where I had read the night before. I took it in my hand, glanced down at the open page where she had traced a text—*‘And the truth shall make you free’*—and tossed it in the fire. I have never opened one since then, not from that day to this. I got in my buggy, visited my patients all day, at night went home, stealing in softly so that my mother need not be disturbed. But she was waiting, had waited for me all day. She saw my face and read my heart. The smile and the quiet, matter-of fact manner that had bewildered my friends were not needed here. She put her arms around my neck and fainted. She alone knew how one beloved woman's perfidy had made shipwreck of a strong man's tottering faith. Trouble comes in battalions: I buried her in less than a year. I lived on there, though friends urged me, having my own comfort at heart, to go elsewhere; every feeling in my nature rebelled against cowardly flight. I remained until I proved myself equal to my destiny.

"It is almost thirty years since I passed down the steps of my friend's house that crisp cold morning and went out to face ridicule and the pity that was scarcely less difficult to bear. I remember that the sun shone, and that the scarlet gladioli were frozen still against the window pane. They looked like tiny spots of clotted blood against the frosted glass. I thought of them when I saw your wounded hand to-night."

(*To be continued.*)

BRIDE OF THE AGES.

BY FRANCES M. MILNE.

Yearned the world's heart to her, Bride of the Ages,
Dream of the poets and theme of the sages.
Won by her loveliness, awed by her purity,
Worshipped men proudly in faith and in surety.

Time! dare he touch her with insolent moiling?
Liberty's chosen! not his for despoiling.
Thronged the old heroes to Valhalla's portals
To gaze from afar on the wonder of mortals.

Bright as the sun in his opulent splendor,
Fair as the moon in her radiance tender,
Tyranny trembled before her appearing,
As if an army with banners were nearing.

Roll the swift years past a century's counting;
Still to its zenith her planet is mounting.
Blare of the trumpets and beat of the drums
Herald the car of her triumph that comes.

Is it a juggernaut? Lo, as it rolls,
Hear ye the moaning in torment of souls?
See ye white faces flash out at the wheel?
What shall the day of her judging reveal?

Gaze from Valhalla, O heroes! behold
Liberty's chosen dishonored for gold!
Rich though her robing and splendid her state,
'Tis but the trappings of bondage ye hate.

Spoil of the crafty and tool of the knave,
What from such baseness her glory may save?
Was it for this that your swords were unsheathed?
Was it for this that your statues were wreathed?

O that your spirits might sweep as of old,
Kindling hearts coward and sordid and cold!
Then from the thralldom of sloth and of dread
Manhood should leap to avenge her instead.

Greed that despoiled her, and falsehood that sold,
Power that bound her with pythoness fold,
Hurled to fate's oubliette soundless and black,
Leave of the bale of their presence no track.

Then, O beloved and beautiful land!
Opens the day of her destiny grand.

Bride of the Ages! Again on her brow
Gleams the pure crown of her virginal vow;
And the world's heart, with a mighty rebound,
Throbs to her own in a passion profound.

BETWEEN TWO WORLDS.

BY MRS. CALVIN KRYDER REIFSNIDER.

[Synopsis of preceding chapters.*]

The first chapter of this story might cause the casual reader to imagine it to be one of those fanciful sketches that imagination creates, but if he continues he finds it to be a story of living power and purpose.

We see within the Temple, the home of the Religionist, evidences of his earnest convictions, and read in the lives of himself and daughter what he meant when he said, "Men may profess what faith they please, but they have no more religion than that which always shows itself in every one of the minutest actions of their lives."

Then we begin to read him anew. His school of oratory is not an occupation for his own benefit only, but to fulfill a life of good uses and to perfect men and women for their calling as ministers, orators, actors, and actresses.

The palms, the statues, the soft-toned musical instruments, the very hangings about the pulpit in their symbolic hues become living things, and each teaches its holy lesson. The mirrors, silent monitors, reflect every look, act, or movement, like a warning of danger or a token of encouragement.

The angel faces that gleam above the chancel remind the child of the Temple of the dreams of attendant angels ever near her in childhood, and here she fancies the dream fulfilled.

The incentives to strive for power, position, fame, removed, we see them walking, working, talking always for the good of others. They have chosen the one thing needful, and all else seems to be added.

We see Ruby, the perfection of beautiful young womanhood, striving



SALOME.

* As this romance will continue through the volume which opens with this issue, and as our subscription list is increasing very rapidly each month, I have thought best to publish a brief synopsis of the preceding chapters for the benefit of our readers.—
EDITOR OF ARENA.

to be to her father all that her name implies, and shedding the light of their love upon the path of the poor in the only way in which humanity can be truly lifted up; *i. e.*, awakening within them the spark that will guide them on the way.

In bold but natural contrast Salome steps upon the scene, and in her first meeting with Ruby we see rise up those human passions that strive within and torment struggling humanity;—fear of defeat when she contrasts herself with the strange spiritual beauty of Ruby; jealousy, and at the last the still human passion to learn of her the secret of those powerful charms, for she realizes that the secret would mean success in her chosen vocation.

What natural human questions she puts day after day, probing to find out just where Ruby's weak point may be, and at last, finding none, asks boldly for the secret of her power. The answer, "Live to-day, *in the living, breathing present*," etc., seems to stir up a dark pool in her young heart, and she exclaims:

"You may well say this with your *present*. I try to close my eyes when night comes and forget the day that is done, to let it be a dead thing whose ghost will not, I hope, rise up against me somewhere and tell me that I have murdered it. Ah, Miss Gladstone, you may live to-day, I will live next year, or in five years perhaps. *I am dead to-day.*"

But the words of Ruby were not lost; Salome returned to her unhappy home with a new resolution to *begin to live to-day*. It was the first lesson in her *interior education*.

Here we see a new picture, strong, vivid; one that burns itself into the hearts of mother and daughter; one of the inconsistencies of love; one of the curses of the home; a lack of knowledge of the nature and dispositions of those we deal with there; the total absence of spiritual or internal home education. Salome, carrying in her proud heart shame, mortification, memories that haunt her and are ever driving her on with but one thought, one purpose,—money, gold, fame. "Gold to gild the future and make her forget the past."

CHAPTER X.

The air was balmy, and the sun shone brightly. Ruby and her father drove alone, Mr. and Mrs. Goode being engaged with flowers, plants, and vines in the Temple.

The country round about the city of ——— is picturesque and beautiful as Switzerland. Many elegant country seats near, and further beyond the city limits highly cultivated farms and beautiful homes and grounds bespeak the retired gentleman enjoying the fruits of his earlier labors.

This afternoon Mr. Gladstone was attracted by a shaded lane leading to a large grove hedged in by osage orange which grew thick and high and impregnable for quite a distance. Coming to an opening where a lodge was visible, he inquired if the grounds were public or private. The lodge-keeper answered that they were private, but open to strangers or friends who desired to view the park. Ruby expressed a wish to see the grounds, and her father drove in.

Though the city was famous for its beautiful parks, they had seen nothing like this. Every variety of tree, shrub, flower, and plant formed a very Elysium, and winding through it were shell drives, while here and there were lakes, fountains, game, fish. Birds and squirrels were plentiful, and a herd of deer browsed quietly, or sunned themselves upon the velvet lawn.

Scattered here and there were picturesque cottages, which Ruby supposed to be the dwellings of the keepers of the park.

An elderly gentleman sitting under a spreading chestnut tree, bathing his brow in the passing breeze and drinking in the perfume of flowers

and the song of birds, looking down the drive was attracted by the approach of a pair of Arabian horses of finest breed that moved as by the effort of one will, with the peculiar gait born of high spirit and pure blood. He delighted in the motion as only true lovers of horses can; but as they drew near the observer lost interest in the animals and sat with eager, excited gaze fixed upon the occupants of the phaeton. "At last," he said, a tremor shaking his excited frame, "at last, at last!"

He rose as if to attract the attention of the gentleman; but what excuse could he make for accosting the stranger. It certainly was allowable, — this opportunity was not to be lost. Yet it was lost, for the horses were swift and their long swinging trot had taken them out of the sound of his voice. He sank down, pale and disappointed, as though a phantom had passed by.



MR. GLADSTONE.

"It is she! I always knew I should find her! Find her but to lose her."

He had some idea of rushing after them and calling out to them to stop, but the impulse vanished quickly.

"It is enough to know that she lives. I should be content only to have found her at last. My heart should find peace in the thought until I know her dwelling place."

He was very much agitated, so much so that he had not observed that he was not alone.

"Why, father, what ails you?" cried a clear, rich voice which Ruby would have recognized at once. "Have you seen a ghost?"

"Well, no. But I have seen what I have long sought and felt sure I should some time find. I have seen Esculapius and

his daughter Hygeia. Ah, I have had a vision of two white horses with flowing manes and tails, a phantom phaeton and two diaphanous creatures real in beauty only. Solon, the dream of my life since your boyhood is realized. I have seen a — wife for you. I have sought the world over. I knew she was somewhere, but now I have seen her. I was so agitated that the opportunity passed. I know not who they are, whence



RUBY.

they came, nor whither they are gone. Solon, my son, I would give much to know who those people are, that I might seek their acquaintance at once."

The son, a kingly-looking man of twenty-eight or thirty, looked at his father's earnest, troubled face, with deep reverence and respect.

"Father," he said calmly, and yet a strange electric thrill

passed through his frame with some memory which his father's words awakened, "I believe I know the man you have described. He—I did not think of it before—he must be the father of the young lady. Yes, it must be so. I caught a glimpse of her once, like a shooting star. I have sought in vain to see her face again, and yet I doubt not, now that you describe them, that I have been near her very often."

"Who are they?" asked the elder man, looking up with that strangely agitated face.

"He is the master from whom I learn oratory. He lives in the temple with a housekeeper and her husband. Once I saw a vision of loveliness appear at his study door. I thought she was a pupil. Ah, I see now. He is a foreigner; he has only a few business acquaintances here."

"They will not return this way. Come, let us walk through the park to the outer drive, and fortune may favor us again."

The father rose, and taking his son's arm, they walked directly through the wooded park. Dr. Cadmus for once had no ears for the song of birds, and the fawns that looked shyly into his face expecting a tempting morsel from his hand, or a stroke of loving kindness, saw him pass them by unheeded.

Father and son were rewarded. The tread of swift horses was heard not far distant, and the gentlemen, who paused near the roadside, saw the approach of what both had long sought.

Solon raised his hat to his master, as did the father. Mr. Gladstone stopped in pleased surprise.



DR. CADMUS.

"We have had a most delightful drive. Do I address the owner of these magnificent grounds?"

Dr. Cadmus bowed, Solon introduced his father, and then Mr. Gladstone presented his daughter.

"I am very glad indeed," said Dr. Cadmus, "to welcome you, sir. Pray stop with us a while and refresh yourselves. If you love trees, Miss Gladstone, I am sure you love flowers better. Come, do not say no."

They thanked him, and walked in the shadow of the trees to the house.

The home was a dream of Eden materialized. Groves, lakes, fountains, vines, flowers. The dwelling unpretentious save its natural surroundings; a one-story cottage built in a rambling, fantastic sort of style, with rustic walls over which the vines could cling, each room a bower, half room, half garden. Indeed it might have been mistaken for a conservatory but for the cushions, couches, and chairs for rest and repose. The walls were obscured by vines and tiers of flowers; foun-



SOLOH.

tains plashing merrily kept time with the music of a soft-toned instrument; the oddly shaped windows were glazed with every hue, the light coming through in luminous colors; while the carpets in the summer rooms were moss and ferns of living emerald. The effect was soothing and restful.

Here it was that Solon laid down his kingly form and gave his mind up to pleasant dreams. He mingled with all

classes of men, not perhaps to the extent of eating and drinking with them, but to study and observe them. He listened to sermons, lectures, debates, attended political assemblies, conventions, and legislative bodies, generally in company with his father. He was getting ready for the great game of life which so few study, and which they play more recklessly than they would a game of cards, chess, or ball, and hence so few play successfully. But Solon had been taught that it was a game of all others most worth winning, and hence he was making great preparations.

Fair forms and fair faces had flitted before him without making any more impression upon heart or brain than the figures in the show windows.

After some minutes the guests were welcomed by a queenly-looking woman some years younger than the doctor. Her face beamed with joy as she greeted Ruby, and very soon they were as much at home together as though they had been one family divided for a time and just reunited. The sphere about them seemed to harmonize and bind them all together, and amid these surroundings Mr. Gladstone read Solon's character just as Solon had read his in the temple.

At first the conversation was general, then Dr. Cadmus and Mr. Gladstone drifted into a different stream of current topics and, as it were, floated on together. Mrs. Cadmus had Ruby equally absorbed, while Solon went out to order ices, tea, and fruit.

Ruby rejoiced in her heart over these new-found friends, for they were not strangers. She saw her father's face wear the beaming expression that congenial companionship always brought to it, and she felt that this friendship would be precious to him. She noted the distinguished manner and bearing of the doctor; his clear and regular features, his alabaster complexion, his slender hands, the almost diaphanous aspect of his entire features, which all marked him as a man advanced in life; but when he spoke and became animated this impression immediately vanished, and one recognized that a powerful spirit dwelt within the frame. His voice retained its ring and his eyes their fire. They were brilliant as two black diamonds, and burned like carbuncles. They gave an extraordinary vivacity to his expression; and as he seemed to bend all his energies to entertain her father, Ruby had opportunity to study him most critically. Here was a man that might be compared to her father,—the very first she had ever met.

Solon finally entered into the conversation, and she frankly admitted that she had sat in the gallery and listened to his voice many times. He did not tell her how he had watched for her, supposing her to be the "one lady pupil." He could not understand now how he could ever have supposed her to be aught else but the daughter of the great Master of Oratory, the distinguished lecturer.

It was growing late in the afternoon when the horses were ordered out, and yet the hours had been only moments flying upon golden wings. They had learned that the cottages were tenanted by Solon's schoolmates from abroad, who, upon visiting America, enjoyed his hospitality and had all the freedom of home life. Some were Englishmen, some Frenchmen, and there were Spaniards, Italians, and Greeks.

"You see we talk in their native tongue and I do not altogether lose practice in the languages," he said to Mr. Gladstone.

"Capital idea," said Mr. Gladstone. "Now, Ruby, for our homeward drive. I hope to have an early opportunity of returning your hospitality, Dr. Cadmus. Madam, the change to our Temple home in the city will make you appreciate your luxurious surroundings all the more."

When they passed out of view Mrs. Cadmus laid her hand upon her husband's arm and said, "Your star has risen at last! What think you of its beauty, my son?"—finishing her sentence with a loving glance at Solon.

"I thank my father and my mother for having taught me to wait for its dawning."

Dr. Cadmus walked the soft carpet of ferns with noiseless tread. His whole bearing betokened the gratification he felt. Now that she was found, a question that had not obtruded itself upon the son somewhat disturbed the father. What if—ah, yes, what if the young lady's affections were otherwise engaged? His son, appearing to read his thoughts, said: "Father, if it is indeed she for whom you have taught me to wait, she is already mine. Do not doubt it,—I cannot. She is indeed my Star of Bethlehem."

The father and mother smiled upon their son and said, "You must be right."

Then Solon withdrew to his own apartment and left them to discuss the final realization of their dreams concerning his future. And now we attempt to describe this young Greek whose life is destined to mark a new era in the history of

mankind — the very greatest gift from God to a nation, which comes but once in a century — a great man.

The beauty of his countenance consisted in perfect symmetry of feature, smoothness of surface, a serene sweetness of expression combined with a majesty born of consciousness of power and entire freedom from fear, physical or moral.

And this philosopher truly believed that the more man can assimilate life to the existence which his highest ideas can conceive of pure soul life beyond the grave, the more he approximates a perfect happiness here, the more readily and gladly he glides into the conditions of true being hereafter. All he could imagine of the life of gods and blessed immortals supposed the absence of self-made cares, contentions, passions of avarice and ambition, jealousy and hate. A life of serene tranquillity with active occupation of the intellectual and spiritual powers, a life gladdened by untrammelled interchange of love in a moral atmosphere in which hate and rivalry could not exist for one moment, made up his ideal Paradise; — not unattainable by mortals here if they were inclined to reach that plane. But few find happiness in things so godlike, because they persistently cling to the world in which they can contend for position, power, and wealth.

Solon was one of the lords of philosophy who possess the natural gifts of the true philosopher, — courage, magnanimity, apprehension, and memory. The incentives which are found in cupidity and ambition being unknown to him, there was nothing left but repose. We might properly call him Harmony of the Inner Man. He had set in order his own inner life and was his own master and at peace with himself. To this high end this man concentrated the energies of his life. His studies were those to impress these qualities on his soul.

Father and son were united in every aim and purpose. They could not expect to find congenial companionship among the ordinary class of men. Like all other men of advanced thought they were pronounced cranks and given a wide berth, but to the few who knew them and were capable of appreciating them they were a benediction.

And now indeed the long wished for had come to pass. Solon's whole being soared up on wings of gratitude to his God, and he sought to formulate his labors into an expression of that love and gratitude. This man, who had the spirit of harmony, could only love the loveliest. A beautiful soul harmonizing with a beautiful form, and the two cast in one

mould, was the fairest of sights to him, who had an eye to contemplate the vision. The fairest and loveliest being he had ever dreamed of was Ruby.

CHAPTER XI.

Dr. Cadmus and his wife lost no time in visiting their newly found acquaintances, and when they entered the Temple their first pleasant impressions were strengthened. Ruby and her father entertained them in Mr. Gladstone's study.

They perceived that happiness was the end at which Ruby and her father aimed as the prevailing condition of their entire existence, and a regard for the happiness of others was evinced by the exquisite amenity of their manners. The utter absence of censure or unkind criticism of any one was a very marked peculiarity of these two. They dwelt in an atmosphere of music and fragrance and melodious sounds, soft murmured as a mother's lullaby, and so tuned as to inspire rather than hinder conversation and reflection. The effect was elevating upon the character and thought. The countenances of father and daughter were as devoid of the lines and shadows which care and sorrow and passion and sin leave upon the faces of men, as were the faces of the sculptured gods and goddesses around them, or as peaceful as were the faces of the dead who might lie enshrined in their memories.

Each day these two souls separated for an hour; believing it indispensable to soul health and mental harmony to take one's self wholly to one's self, or, as it were, to be alone with God. No one can grow through the consciousness of another. He may receive strength, impulse, direction in some degree; but before these can be assimilated his soul must find itself in repose, must reach its higher consciousness, and this can only be attained by separating himself completely from the exciting or agitating vibrations of other individualities.

Solon seemed to stand apart from men, and yet a great fountain of sympathy flowed from his heart toward all. He was grateful to his father for the precautions he had taken to insure his being unlike other men in hereditary weakness and evil, and to show that gratitude he took up the thread of life to weave a new race of beings. He saw in the fallen and degraded beings around him only the result of ignorance in

begetting, rearing, feeding. Science must bring it all straight in time. Religion was ignorance, science knowledge.

Dr. Cadmus, forced to take a starting point, began to argue the mysteries of creation, and proved it, as he thought, beginning with the fish. Those closer to the land fed on insects or winged creatures; if the latter, they became flying fish. If they wandered far enough on land and the receding waves left them, and they learned to feed on grass, they became transposed into a species of cattle, then through the laws of evolution became domestic animals. Who has not seen the toad dressed in trousers, with necktie and cane, upon our streets, his goggle eyes, great belly, and puny legs telling every scientist of his origin? Man devours flesh food, and as a result clings tenaciously to all the instincts of the carnivora in ferocity. The gentler animals, feeding upon herbs and vegetation, teach him a lesson, late in life sometimes, that the nature of the animal is embodied in the flesh. Swine-eaters partake of the nature of swine, albeit the race that most detests them is oftenest compared to them. Thus microcosmic man displays here the tiger, there the lion, the eagle, or the fox.

CHAPTER XII.

Speaking to Mr. Gladstone, Dr. Cadmus said, "There is no use in advancing a theory in science unless you prove its practicability. There must be some step taken in advance of these religionists, or the human race is lost. We must have another God."

"Cosmopolitan that I am," said Mr. Gladstone, "I cannot but be interested in these great questions of the day as discussed in America. They must interest the thinking men and women all over the nation."

"Yes," said Dr. Cadmus, "three great armies are forming, and the tramp of feet in the busy drill is heard from east, west, north, and south. Politics, religion, medicine. The charlatanism of medicine has given rise to disbelief in all medicinal remedies, and from it have sprung the Christian Scientists. The charlatanism of priest and pastor has given birth to disbelief and infidelity, agnosticism and theosophy. Charlatanism in the political parties has created national dissatisfaction and given birth to anarchism among the lower classes and populism and socialism among the truly benevo-

lent people, the patriots, the thinkers, the doers; and their great minds have sent out waves of opposition to the present system of government that are rising into a tide which, taken at its flood, must sweep away not only the framework but the very foundation of the present condition of things in the American government.

"The first thing that astonishes the foreigner is the plutocracy of this great Republic, the power of gold, the power of money. Wall Street of America is parallel with Lombard Street in London. The nation's bread is a game to be played against the poor; the money of the country a question for the few to decide, a commodity too precious for the common folk to handle, and the plutocrat cries its basis must be *gold*. Gold not for the people, but for the banker, the broker. And what do we witness? The emblem of Lombardy, the sign of three golden balls, on every business street in the cities, and these grow into palaces on the boulevards, banks in the most valuable places, and railroads all over the land.

"The spirit abroad is the spirit of revolution. The whole framework of society is shaken to the foundation by the revolution in thought. It is spiritual in its origin. God speaks to every thinking man and woman in America. His voice must be heard. His priests and prophets are awaiting the voice and ready to answer to his call. His warriors are buckling on their armor. The spirit is abroad, the spirit of the angel messenger that brings good tidings of great joy. A wave of truth against falsity, of right against wrong. The sword is two-edged and is supreme — the sword of everlasting truth. 'The people come!' cries the watcher in the tower. 'The people! Jehovah comes in the name of the people. He speaks with the voice of the people, and the cry is, *Vox populi, vox Dei*.'

"It took nearly a century to show Americans the sin of slavery. Once seen, they struck the shackles from the slave. Show them the wrong of the present system of government, only let them see it, and they will right it. The error was with part of the nation then, the lesser part. Had they seen the evil they would have shared the glory of the liberation of the slaves instead of the shame of defeat. The wrong today is a national wrong, and the people, the whole people, are concerned. Put the question before them, show them the wrong, help them to see the right and they will do it.

"We are approaching a new era and in a new spirit. The very spirit of the age demands a new state of things, and it will be a revolution in church and State. Churchmen can no longer build churches and starve the poor. The State can no longer see honest women deprived of their lifelong labor by barbarous laws giving to the husband's family the earnings of his wife, the partner of his early battle in life and long years of privation. You cannot confront one proposition without confronting the whole. Why? Because eternal justice links the whole together and demands the change. The government must be the guardian of her subjects. She must furnish labor and money to pay for it. Money in this emergency must come as it did in the Civil War—scrip if you please—the people's pledge to pay. Did they not pay willingly to free the slave? Will they not be equally willing to pay to free themselves, their children and their children's children?"

"From the old political factions grew the Republican party,—the Black Republican party as it was called,—the Abolitionists; and from out the decaying ruins of these old parties shall grow a new one that shall free the white slaves; a government to teach her people, a great, fostering, loving guardian of the nation; a government that shall no longer license crime (liquor) and hang the criminal; no longer celebrate her Independence Day in vulgar display and waste of millions of dollars in fireworks, but call her children together and show them that the annual expenditure rightly, religiously employed, would endow colleges, build homes, buy farms, and bless them a thousand times in blessing others. Is it seemly that a great nation should do a little thing?"

"Every force is a telling power straight from the throne of God. A Moses shall be found. No need to ask God to do the work of feet and hands and voice in this world; man is His vicegerent on the earth. The people of America must have a new government *and must begin by having a new God!*"

Dr. Cadmus's words startled Ruby, who thus far had listened with rapt attention.

"A God of love and mercy, a God for the poor man such as Jesus foretold, a Comforter, the Spirit of Truth; a practical, common-sense religion, preached by a practical, common-sense clergy. Not a theoretical theology preached on Sundays by students who have no practical knowledge of the world or of

men or their daily needs. The clergy have no sympathy with the people. They should understand men. They should learn to do so in their capacity of teachers of the young; they should know more of human needs than others. There is no use in the clergy telling the people their trouble is brought upon them by an avenging God, when they know it is brought upon them by politicians bought by the plutocracy of America. They don't believe in such a God. He is too much like the clergy and the politician of the day who hold up a picture of themselves and call it God; but the people recognize the likeness and will not have it as their God.

"The deeds of bravery and heroism that emblazoned America on the world's rolls of honor in the Civil War shall be repeated in the great conflict that is to come; — a bloodless battle that shall be fought first in the spiritual world and ultimated in the natural world in the song of peace. The everlasting God shall breathe upon the people, and plenty shall bless them all; plenty of money and plenty of bread. There is a work to do; work requiring human eyes and human ears, human feet and human hands, willing to do what the Lord shows them must be done.

"The days of plutocracy are numbered. The hairs of their heads have been counted; for, lo! the people shall move in concert. Bellamy sounded the first trumpet; he felt the pulsation of the advancing thought in the new life. He could not help writing it. The thought waves of millions struck him when he took up his pen and it wrote what the people longed for. Not that they may ever attain to it; but from the golden dream of the writer they may weave a practical form of government that shall answer the prayers of the struggling people and the noble workers in their cause.

"The cry goes up, Every man to his axe. Wherever there is a rotten beam cut it out; wherever a leaking roof knock it off; the foundation is good, the great Republic will stand, but the rotten timbers put in by false religion, avarice, self-interest, prejudice or what not, must come out.

"Are women wronged by laws made by men? Let man right the wrong. Can men be lovers, aye kings, in the eyes of their queens, if these must snatch the sceptre from the hands of men and vote for their own rights? Will not the gallant men of America accord to them most gladly and graciously their rights? Only show them their wrongs.

Why, only to-day in speaking of the question a journalist well up in the problems of the day told me that he understood the main fight for woman suffrage to be on the ground of the old revolutionary question of taxation without representation. That, sir, is only the question in the West. The New England women have a graver wrong as dark as the slavery question was to right. Strange that the men of the East saw the wrong in their far-away southern brothers owning slaves, but see not the wrong in the companion of their life and labors being thrust from the home she has helped to earn; her husband's relations put in her place to reap the harvest she has sown and she driven out to work again. Show this fact to the men of the South, the North, the West, and there will be no need of the fair sex voting for rights. The men will redress her wrongs and thereby accord to her her rights. The whole thing is unnatural and wrong. It is like my wife, my daughter, my sister, asking me to give them power to taunt me with their independence. They must ever feel that I gave it (for if they ever get it, it must come as a gift from the men), and I must ever feel that my injustice goaded them to ask, beg, demand a thing which if I had understood they needed I should have freely bestowed as I would the food and shelter and raiment I had always worked for; for what is man's life work for but for woman, woman to love us, woman to respect us, woman to lead us up and arouse our better selves? It is ignorance; but once enlightened, once the whole question is blazoned upon their nation's flag, the people, the whole people, will be one in politics, religion, freedom."

(To be continued.)

THE GOLDEN AGE.

BY JUNIUS L. HEMPSTEAD.

No sails veered before the wind,
No hunter slew the fleeing hind,
No trees were felled for warlike ships,
No arrows chipped from flinty stone,
No widowed hearts to weep and moan
Nor tell of war with whitened lips.

No conquests, for the shipless sea
From flags and galley-fleets was free,
No tortured serfs, no conquered slaves
To trim the sail or ply the oars,
No armed legions to invade the shores
Washed only by the waves.

No man at arms with spear and axe,
No toiling lives, no grinding tax,
Ambition knew no crowned king,
With minions fierce and bold;
No captured lands to seize, to hold,
No monarch's signet ring.

No landed metes and bounds,
No wooded parks, no baying hounds,
No gilded grand armorial halls,
No wassails, knights, or wine,
No warlike shields with glinty shine
Gleamed from baronial walls.

No tempted hearts to worship gold,
No titled honor, to be bought or sold,
No heartless greed for pomp and gain;
But simple lives and gentle loves,
Bleating lambs and cooing doves,
And hearts not racked with pain.

The mad pulse of the world was still,
Only the flow of the peaceful rill,
Only the forests silent and old,
Solemn aisles by man untrod,
Home of earth's primal god,
Who was no slave to gold.

Only the flocks and folds of Pan,
Only the Golden Age of man:
Only the goat-herds' Pandean chime
Played with such skill, 'tis said,
It charmed the browsing herds that fed
On the slopes of the olden time.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

DR. WALLACE'S VOLUME ON MODERN SPIRITUAL PHILOSOPHY.*

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.

It is very suggestive to the student who thinks below the surface to note the surprising activity evinced in the world of thought by master minds regarding problems relating to psychical research. We are approaching the meridian of a century which corresponds in many ways to the first century of modern times (1450-1550), and the intellectual, moral, and spiritual activity of the present time, though necessarily far different from that which emphasized the Renaissance, is none the less boldly marked. In the world of social, ethical, religious, and scientific thought we see the interrogation point raised on every hand, while side by side with this searching and challenging spirit we also note a vast amount of constructive work going on. Everywhere the loftiest spirits and the most advanced and profound natures are demanding nobler ideals than those which have prevailed in the past, while the ascendancy of the critical and scientific spirit is also observable in every field of investigation, although it must be confessed that critical scientific thinkers have been slow to engage in careful systematic investigation of psychical phenomena. This has doubtless been due to many causes. The whole field of research until lately was regarded as a dark continent, subtle and elusive in results, while conservative prejudice on the one hand and the fraudulent imposition of alleged psychical phenomena on the other have operated with other causes to prevent many of the most thoughtful and sincere searchers after truth from entering a field of investigation which promises incalculable gain to humanity when the laws which underlie psychical science are clearly demonstrated. Among sincere investigators it is doubtless true that many have permitted their zeal to override their discretion, while on the other hand a number of ultra-conservatives have erred in the opposite direction from the predominance of the materialistic bias and doubtless, in some instances, fearing lest they should bring down upon their heads the anathemas of a slothful conventionalism. But in spite of the injudicious on the one hand and the ultra-conservative on the other, there is a vast body of well-balanced, thoughtful, and competent investigators who are tirelessly pursuing every great problem which promises blessings for civilization and an increase of knowledge for man. Nowhere is that activity more noticeable at the present time than in the field of psychical research. Recently several volumes of great value and worthy of the

*"Miracles and Modern Spiritualism," by Alfred Russel Wallace, D. C. L., LL. D., F. R. S. Revised edition, with chapters on Apparitions and Phantasms George Redway, 9 Hart St., Bloomsbury, London, England. Price 6s. net

serious consideration of all scholarly men and women who dare to think have appeared. The first of these I wish to notice is "Miracles and Modern Spiritualism," by the eminent English scientist, Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace.

This work, which consists of a carefully revised and enlarged edition of Dr. Wallace's former work, to which are added the important papers originally written for the ARENA on "Objective Apparitions and Why They Appear," and an important appendix.

Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace is recognized as the world's greatest living naturalist, and his work as co-discoverer with Darwin of the law of Evolution has long since placed him among the greatest physical scientists of this pre-eminently scientific century. Hence the following extracts from the preface to his work will be of peculiar interest to thinking people, and should receive the special attention of physical scientists with a materialistic bias who have been flippant and superficial in their criticism of this great serene soul who has penetrated beyond the range of their vision:

I am well aware that my scientific friends are somewhat puzzled to account for what they consider to be my delusion, and believe that it has injuriously affected whatever power I may have once possessed of dealing with the philosophy of Natural History. One of them—Mr. Anton Dohrn—has expressed this plainly. I am informed that, in an article entitled "Englische Kritiker und Anti-Kritiker des Darwinismus," published in 1861, he has put forth the opinion that Spiritualism and Natural Selection are incompatible, and that my divergence from the views of Mr. Darwin arises from my belief in Spiritualism. He also supposes that in accepting the spiritual doctrines I have been to some extent influenced by clerical and religious prejudice. As Mr. Dohrn's views may be those of other scientific friends, I may perhaps be excused for entering into some personal details in reply.

From the age of fourteen I lived with an elder brother, of advanced liberal and philosophical opinions, and I soon lost (and have never since regained) all capacity of being affected in my judgments either by clerical influence or religious prejudice. Up to the time when I first became acquainted with the facts of Spiritualism, I was a confirmed philosophical sceptic, rejoicing in the works of Voltaire, Strauss, and Carl Vogt, and an ardent admirer (as I am still) of Herbert Spencer. I was so thorough and confirmed a materialist that I could not at that time find a place in my mind for the conception of spiritual existence, or for any other agencies in the universe than matter and force. Facts, however, are stubborn things. My curiosity was at first excited by some slight but inexplicable phenomena occurring in a friend's family, and my desire for knowledge and love of truth forced me to continue the inquiry. The facts became more and more assured, more and more varied, more and more removed from anything that modern science taught or modern philosophy speculated on. They compelled me to accept them *as facts* long before I could accept the spiritual explanation of them; there was at that time "no place in my fabric of thought into which it could be fitted." By slow degrees a place was made; but it was made, not by any preconceived or theoretical opinions, but by the continuous action of fact after fact, which could not be got rid of in any other way. So much for Mr. Anton Dohrn's theory of the causes which led me to accept Spiritualism. Let us now consider the statement as to its incompatibility with Natural Selection.

Having, as above indicated, been led, by a strict induction from facts,

to a belief: firstly, in the existence of a number of preterhuman intelligences of various grades, and, secondly, that some of these intelligences, although usually invisible and intangible to us, can and do act on matter and do influence our minds, I am surely following a strictly logical and scientific course in seeing how far this doctrine will enable us to account for some of those residual phenomena which Natural Selection alone will not explain. In the tenth chapter of my "Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection," I have pointed out what I consider to be some of those residual phenomena; and I have suggested that they may be due to the action of some of the various intelligences above referred to. This view was, however, put forward with hesitation, and I myself suggested difficulties in the way of its acceptance; but I maintained, and still maintain, that it is one which is logically tenable, and is in no way inconsistent with a thorough acceptance of the grand doctrine of Evolution through Natural Selection, although implying (as indeed many of the chief supporters of that doctrine admit) that it is not the all-powerful, all-sufficient, and only cause of the development of organic forms.

In the preface to this last edition Dr. Wallace observes:

It was about the year 1843 that I first became interested in psychical phenomena, owing to the violent discussion then going on as to the reality of the painless surgical operations performed on patients in the mesmeric trance by Dr. Elliotson and other English surgeons. The greatest surgical and physiological authorities of the day declared that the patients were either impostors or persons naturally insensible to pain; the operating surgeons were accused of bribing their patients, and Dr. Elliotson was described as "polluting the temple of science." The Medico-Chirurgical Society opposed the reading of a paper describing an amputation during the magnetic trance, while Dr. Elliotson himself was ejected from his professorship in the University of London. It was at this time generally believed that all the now well-known phenomena of hypnotism were the result of imposture.

It so happened that in the year 1844 I heard an able lecture on mesmerism by Mr. Spencer Hall, and the lecturer assured his audience that most healthy persons could mesmerize some of their friends and reproduce many of the phenomena he had shown on the platform. This led me to try for myself, and I soon found that I could mesmerize with varying degrees of success, and before long I succeeded in producing in my own room, either alone with my patient or in the presence of friends, most of the usual phenomena. Partial or incomplete catalepsy, paralysis of the motor nerves in certain directions, or of any special sense, every kind of delusion produced by suggestion, insensibility to pain, and community of sensation with myself when at a considerable distance from the patient, were all demonstrated, in such a number of patients and under such varying conditions as to satisfy me of the genuineness of the phenomena. I thus learnt my first great lesson in the inquiry into these obscure fields of knowledge, never to accept the disbelief of great men, or their accusations of imposture or of imbecility, as of any weight when opposed to the repeated observation of facts by other men admittedly sane and honest. The whole history of science shows us that, whenever the educated and scientific men of any age have denied the facts of other investigators on *a priori* grounds of absurdity or impossibility, the deniers have always been wrong.

A few years later and all the more familiar facts of mesmerism were accepted by medical men, and explained more or less satisfactorily to themselves, as not being essentially different from known diseases of the nervous system, and of late years the more remarkable phenomena, including clairvoyance both as to facts known and those unknown to the mesmerizer, have been established as absolute realities.

Next we come to the researches of Baron von Reichenbach on the action of magnets and crystals upon sensitives. I well remember how these were scouted by the late Dr. W. B. Carpenter and Prof. Tyndall, and how I was pitted for my credulity in accepting them. But many of his results have now been tested by French and English observers and have been found to be correct. Then we all remember how the phenomena of the stigmata, which have occurred at many epochs in the Catholic Church, were always looked upon by sceptics as gross imposture, and the believers in its reality as too far gone in credulity to be seriously reasoned with. Yet when the case of Louise Lateau was thoroughly investigated by sceptical physicians, and could be no longer doubted, the facts were admitted; and when, later on, somewhat similar appearances were produced in hypnotic patients by suggestion the whole matter was held to be explained.

Second sight, crystal-seeing, automatic writing, and allied phenomena have been usually treated either as self-delusion or as imposture, but now that they have been carefully studied by Mr. Myers, Mr. Stead, and other inquirers, they have been found to be genuine facts; and it has been further proved that they often give information not known to any one present at the time, and even sometimes predict future events with accuracy.

Lastly, we come to consider the claim of the intelligences who are connected with most of these varied phenomena to be the spirits of deceased men and women; such claim being supported by tests of various kinds, especially by giving accurate information regarding themselves as to facts totally unknown to the medium or to any person present. Records of such tests are numerous in spiritual literature as well as in the publications of the Society for Psychical Research, but at present they are regarded as inconclusive, and various theories of a double or multiple personality, of a sub-conscious or second self, or of a lower stratum of consciousness, are called in to explain them or to attempt to explain them. The stupendous difficulty that, if these phenomena and these tests are to be all attributed to the "second self" of living persons, then that second self is almost always a deceiving and a lying self, however moral and truthful the visible and tangible first self may be, has, so far as I know, never been rationally explained; yet this cumbrous and unintelligible hypothesis finds great favor with those who have always been accustomed to regard the belief in a spirit world, and more particularly a belief that the spirits of our dead friends can and do sometimes communicate with us, as unscientific, unphilosophical, and superstitious. Why it should be unscientific, more than any other hypothesis which alone serves to explain intelligibly a great body of facts, has never been explained. The antagonism which it excites seems to be mainly due to the fact that it is, and has long been in some form or other, the belief of the religious world and of the ignorant and superstitious of all ages, while a total disbelief in spiritual existence has been the distinctive badge of modern scientific scepticism. The belief of the uneducated and unscientific multitude, however, rested on the broad basis of alleged facts which the scientific world scouted and scoffed at as impossible. But they are now discovering, as this brief sketch has shown, that the alleged facts, one after another, prove to be real facts, and strange to say, with little or no exaggeration, since almost every one of them, though implying abnormal powers in human being or the agency of a spirit-world around us, has been strictly paralleled in the present day, and has been subjected to the close scrutiny of the scientific and sceptical with little or no modification of their essential nature. Since, then, the scientific world has been proved to have been totally wrong in its denial of the facts, as being contrary to laws of nature and therefore incredible, it seems highly probable, *a priori*, it may have been equally wrong as to the spirit hypothesis, the dislike of

which mainly led to their disbelief in the facts. For myself, I have never been able to see why any one hypothesis should be less scientific than another, except so far as one explains the whole of the facts and the other explains only a part of them. It was this alone that rendered the theory of gravitation more scientific than that of cycles and epicycles, the undulatory theory of light more scientific than the emission theory, and the theory of Darwin more scientific than that of Lamarck. It is often said that we must exhaust known causes before we call in unknown causes to explain phenomena. This may be admitted, but I cannot see how it applies to the present question. The "second" or "sub-conscious self," with its wide stores of knowledge, how gained no one knows, its distinct character, its low morality, its constant lies, is as purely a theoretical cause as is the spirit of a deceased person or any other spirit. It can in no sense be termed "a known cause." To call this hypothesis "scientific" and that of spirit agency "unscientific," is to beg the question at issue. That theory is most scientific which best explains the whole series of phenomena; and I therefore claim that the spirit hypothesis is the most scientific, since even those who oppose it most strenuously often admit that it does explain all the facts, which cannot be said of any other hypothesis.

I have quoted at length from Dr. Wallace's exceedingly thoughtful preface, feeling that such observations from such a source will be of special interest to students of psychical science, and also to show how firmly this truly grand old man, this savant among savants, adheres to the spiritual philosophy.

In the body of the volume the author discusses among other subjects "Modern Miracles Viewed as Natural Phenomena," "The Evidence of the Reality of Apparitions," "Modern Spiritualism: Evidence of Men of Science," "Evidence of Literary and Professional Men to the Facts of Modern Spiritualism," "The Moral Teachings of Spiritualism," "A Defence of Modern Spiritualism," "Are There Objective Apparitions?" "What Are Phantasms, and Why Do They Appear?"

This work is justly entitled to a wide circulation; it is strong, dignified, critical, yet sympathetic; in a word, the truly scientific spirit pervades it.

THE DRAMA OF THE REVOLUTION.*

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.

In Ethan Allen's "Drama of the Revolution" we have a work as unique as it is thrilling and instructive, the merit of which lies in its close adherence to history and its vivid portrayal of the great scenes of the Revolution in such a manner as to bring the reader into intimate relation to the very atmosphere of the great epoch described that he seems to be one of the onlookers. Dramatic power is accompanied by the verity of history in a manner seldom, if ever, equalled. From the opening scene to the close of the drama the reader is enthralled by the fascinating influence of the pen which possesses the power to make men live before the reader's eyes and great scenes appear as they occurred. In this work it matters

* "The Drama of the Revolution," by Ethan Allen. Two volumes, illustrated. Price, cloth, \$1.50 per volume; paper, fifty cents per volume. Published by F. Tennyson Neeley, New York and Chicago.

not whether the scene be laid in Boston, New York, Saratoga, at the English Council Chamber or the Court of France, whether the patriot army is enduring the terrible privation which only souls of purest mould will voluntarily endure or whether Cornwallis's army is stacking its arms at Yorktown, the reader's interest is sustained and he feels that instead of the details too often given in so tedious a manner in the endeavor to resemble the real thrilling facts portrayed much as a manikin resembles a man, he is actually witnessing in his mind's eye one of the grandest epochs in history. This work is of exceptional value for the young, as it will stimulate in them a noble patriotism precisely the reverse of the pseudo patriotism which has been nourished by the laudatory Napoleonic literature and which fans the war spirit but drives into the background the great principles of human rights, justice, freedom, and regard for the sanctity of life. Ethan Allen has written a noble work, one calculated to inspire lofty ideals while being as instructive as a carefully written history and as fascinating as a powerfully written work of fiction.

TWENTY-FIVE LETTERS ON ENGLISH AUTHORS.*

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.

The author of the work deserves the gratitude of all lovers of good English literature for a work of exceptional value to the student of English literature. In twenty-five letters about notable English authors from the days of Chaucer to Tennyson and Ruskin, she has given a vivid, entertaining, panoramic view of the master minds in English literature, with graphic glimpses of the ages in which the immortal trains passed, receiving from the ages and giving to the other ages the legacy of their thought.

There is a sturdiness of spirit and a wholesomeness of atmosphere and emphasis laid upon adherence to principle which is exceedingly refreshing at the present time when scholastic hair-splitting so frequently obscures the grand fundamentals which make up nobility of character. This is strongly illustrated in the following preface to the author's Letters on John Milton:

I have always felt that year a lost one in which I made no new friend. And this year I am the richer for your friendship. Is it not so? You are not merely a voice coming to me from a distance. I know you, I have tested your character in a good many ways, and I have not found you wanting yet. You have never yet said to me, "Don't give me so much to do. I can't find time to read all that. Is it necessary to do this? I don't see the good of it."

You haven't given up, even through the headaches and bad colds, and the lost days in a sick-bed. Your determination to learn, to grow, has not weakened. You haven't made physical weakness a pretext for mental inertness. I like that, and I like it the more emphatically because I so constantly meet with exactly the contrary spirit, with machine girls, who need winding as regularly as clocks do. They absolutely can't go of themselves. They must be wheedled and coaxed, and patted on the

*"Twenty-five Letters on English Authors," by Mary Fisher. Cloth, \$1.50; 406 pages. S. C. Griggs & Co., Chicago, Ill.

head, or reprimanded and spurred to their tasks, and sometimes the wheels clog up or break, and then all the winding in the world can't make them go. They just stand still forever. They're alive, because they can wear fine clothes, and eat and giggle and chatter gibberish like magpies, but that's all. They never do anything unless it be to make life a burden to all who know them.

It is a pitiful comment on human weakness that every gang of workmen needs its overseer or "boss" to watch and see that each one is diligent. It is a pitiful comment on human short-sightedness that we cannot understand that all the heroic qualities, strength, courage, persistence, grow out of difficulties met and vanquished, out of pleasures denied and duties performed in the face of disinclination. There is an unhappy theory in practice at present, that everything should be made pleasant for young people, that their tasks should be turned into play, and that the seriousness of life must be studiously concealed from them. It is my opinion that when a child learns to walk by being carried about in its mother's arms, or a youth learns to swim by riding in a merry-go-round, he may also learn to be a thoughtful, energetic man, from being a thoughtless, idle, pleasure-seeking youth.

Ruskin has a good word to say on thoughtlessness in youth which I can't forbear quoting: "In general, I have no patience with people who talk about the thoughtlessness of youth indulgently. I had infinitely rather hear of thoughtless old age and the indulgence due to that. When a man has done his work, and nothing can any way be materially altered in his fate, let him forget his toil and jest with his fate if he will; but what excuse can you find for wilfulness of thought at the very time when every crisis of future fortune hangs on your decisions? A youth thoughtless! when the career of all his days depends on the opportunity of a moment. A youth thoughtless! when his every act is a foundation stone of future conduct, and every imagination a fountain of life or death. Be thoughtless in any after years, rather than now, though, indeed, there is only one place where a man may be nobly thoughtless, — his death-bed. No thinking should ever be left to be done there."

We need more of this seriousness and thoughtfulness among our youth, more of the spirit that faces an obstacle with no intention of yielding to it, but meets it as a river does a mountain. The river can't go over the mountain. Very well, then, it can go round it. At any rate, it will not run back to its source. Any way to get onward, onward, but never once backward. That is the heroic spirit. That is the spirit of John Milton.

I am glad we have that hero for our subject to-day. He fits exactly into the spirit of what I have been saying. You cannot find in all history so perfect an example of a man who lived so wholly above the vulgarities and annoyances of life, and yet at the same time shirked no duty, however distasteful, that came to him, never once turned aside from his lofty ideas, never once yielded to discouragement, but turned his very trials, his obstacles, his sorrows, into stepping-stones of glory.

It is not necessary that one should always agree with the author's estimate, and there are some points which will not, I think, stand the test of critical investigation, as when she cites the great-grandson's life of Sir Thomas More, instead of Sir Thomas's son-in-law, William Roper's life as the most authentic. Still, in spite of what appear to me to be occasional defects, the volume as a whole is exceedingly valuable, being characterized by vigor, clearness, and a directness of style very pleasing. It will interest all young people who love the literature of the mother country. It is at once rich in suggestion, entertaining, and instructive.

NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

I.

The Message of our Quaker Poet to Men and Women of the Present Day.

The life of Whittier, no less than his inspiring lines, bears a message of deep import to present-day civilization. In the feverish intoxication of modern existence, so rife with artificiality and duplicity he maintained a lofty serenity of soul and in his simplicity, naturalness, and candor proved the falsity of the teachings of certain modern sophists, who claim that the Christ-life cannot be lived in the environment of modern times. He, more than any of his illustrious contemporary singers, preserved from youth to silver age the soul of a child. Many men who in their higher and truer moments have given the world noble and elevating thoughts, have themselves signally failed to live up to their fine teachings and, in unguarded moments and hours of temptation, have so fallen that the recollection of their shortcomings rests like a sable cloud over their noble utterances. Not so with Whittier; his life was exceptionally pure, and while I imagine no man ever reaches at all times his ideals, our Quaker poet, in a greater degree than most of us, maintained that serenity of soul, that purity of thought and kindness of nature, which reflect the divine side of man. That he sometimes fell short of his high ideals, is shown in many of his own lines, notably in the following from "My Triumph:"

Let the thick curtain fall;
I better know than all
How little I have gained,
How vast the unattained.

* * * *

Sweeter than any sung
My songs that found no tongue;
Nobler than any fact
My wish which failed of act.

And this consciousness of a failure to live up to his highest level in thought and aspiration is further illustrated in the following touching story told by Mrs. Mary B. Clafin, in her "Personal Recollections of Whittier:"

"The morning mail," observes this lady, "usually brought him a great number of letters (often as many as fifty); and one morning as he was looking over the pile before him, he lingered a long time over one, and looked troubled, as though it contained some sad news. At length handing it to me, he said: 'I wish thee would read that letter;' and then, with his head downcast, and his deep, melancholy eyes looking, as it

seemed, into the very depths of human mysteries, he sat still till I had finished it.

"It was written by one whose life had been spent on a remote farm among the hills of New Hampshire, away from every privilege her nature craved—a most pathetic letter written, it seemed, out of the deepest human longing for sympathy, for companionship and uplifting. The lonely woman wrote, she said, to tell Mr. Whittier what his poems had been to her during all the years of her desolate heart-yearning for education, for enlightenment, and for touch with the great outside world. She added: 'In my darkest moments I have found light and comfort in your poems, which I always keep by my side; and as I never expect to have the privilege of looking into your face, I feel that I must tell you, before I leave this world, what you have been through your writings to one and, I have no doubt, to many a longing heart and homesick soul. I have never been in a place so dark and hopeless that I could not find light and comfort and hope in your poems; and when I go into my small room and close my door upon the worries and perplexing cares that constantly beset me, and sit down by my window that looks out over the hills, which have been my only companions, I never fail to find in the volume, which is always by my side, some word of peace and comfort to my longing heart.'

"The letter was such as would bring tears from any sympathetic heart, and I remarked, returning it to him, 'I would rather have the testimony you are constantly receiving from forlorn and hungry souls—the assurance that you are helping God's neglected children—than the crown of any queen on earth.'

"With tearful eyes and choking voice, he replied: 'Such letters greatly humiliate me. I can sometimes write from a high plane, but thee knows I cannot live up to it all the time. I wish I could think I deserved all the kind things said of me.'"

This touching incident is thoroughly characteristic of the life of him in whom we find humility, sincerity, simplicity, and sympathy, only equalled by a passionate devotion to freedom, justice, and truth—a man who was at once a poet of nature, an apostle of liberty, and a prophet of progress. He interpreted in a manner thoroughly intelligible to the most unschooled mind the profoundest truths of life, which pertain to the spirit, and which come only to the mystic, who in the hushed chambers of his soul hears speak the still, small voice of the Infinite. Finally, and crowning all, his life, of which I have spoken, was such as to give special emphasis to his inspired lines, and giving to them a peculiar value for aspiring youth.

II.

President St. John's Proposed Platform for the American Independents of 1896.

In the strong, patriotic, statesmanlike, and truly American platform proposed by Mr. William P. St. John, president of the Mercantile Na-

tional Bank of New York, and contributed to this issue of the ARENA, will be found much food for reflection.

As it would be impossible to find a candidate who would impress all sincere patriots as an ideal selection, in the nature of the case it will be so with any platform proposed for the unification of those intelligent friends of the business interests and the wealth creators of our nation in the present battle against the mechanism of the British financial policy. And yet all thinking persons who are also true patriots must recognize the fact that at the present time we have a clear-cut battle for supremacy between the forces of an *anarchical plutocracy* and those representing *social order and true democracy*. This is a supreme fact we must keep in mind, for it is the very point which the gold power and the combinations which systematically seek to debauch legislation, corrupt government, and evade justice most desire to conceal from the voter. And it is a notable fact that to this end patriotic statesmen and broad-minded and authoritative economists are being traduced almost as viciously as were Samuel Adams and John Hancock in the early days of our struggle against British oppression and for the establishing of an American Republic. In the present battle, moreover, old partisan prejudice is being appealed to, and all manner of absurd talk is put forth by conspirators against the Republic and their hired tools, which reminds one of the voice of the metropolitan press when Abraham Lincoln was nominated to the Presidency. Hence it is of paramount importance that we divest our minds of all prejudice and refuse to be longer deceived by the sham battle which has so long been carried on between the leaders of plutocracy's forces with the deliberate intent to mislead the voter.

I now wish to notice Mr. St. John's proposed platform from my personal point of view. As before observed, no platform or candidate will suit all sincere patriots. But in the battle now being waged between plutocracy and English domination on the one hand and democracy and Americanism on the other, patriots must be prepared to make concessions for the salvation of the Republic against corrupt boss rule and the subtle mechanism of the gold power in this land and the influence of the Bank of England's policy, which has so markedly prostrated our industries and in so large a way brought about stagnation throughout the length and breadth of the Republic.

In his first demand (a) Mr. St. John calls for the reopening of the mints for the free coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of 16 to 1. (b) Against the cry of the paid attorneys of the gold power that we would find silver cumbersome, he makes ample provisions in his proposition for coin-certificates, though as a matter of fact silver coined in smaller denominations than the dollar would not only be acceptable to America's millions, but would be very difficult, if not impossible, to corner by the gamblers of Wall Street. And this is one of the reasons why the usurer class are the sworn enemies of the white metal. The bugaboo of the bulk of silver dollars is merely a phantom of the gold power. Hence the issuance of silver in smaller denominations than the dollar, coupled with the proposed coin-certificate redeemable in coin

on demand, effectually does away with the bogey of the special pleaders of the Bank of England's financial policy. (c) There seems to have been a concerted effort on the part of the American Tories to alarm the business interests in the face of the tremendous discontent of the industrial millions which they find themselves unable to cope with, by the threat of a panic, if any change is brought about which will produce prosperity, happiness, and the independence of America's millions of wealth creators, from the business men and manufacturers to the artisans and farmers; this threat of a panic is threadbare, and had we a free press in the money centres of this country there would be no danger of it influencing any thoughtful business men. But Mr. St. John is a far-seeing financier as well as a patriot of rare judgment, and in his platform he has provided against the possibility of such a panic by the proposed issuance of coin-certificates against deposits of interest-bearing bonds, "which would provide for a temporary increase of \$300,000,000 of paper money against the silver on hand in the Treasury April 1." The operation of this demand would make impossible any panic such as has been brought upon the country by the gold power more than once in the past three decades through contraction in currency; whereas, on the other hand, should the gold power win, a panic of unprecedented extent would be inevitable.

This is a distinctly American plank and would bring about a prosperity unknown to the present generation, because it would start into operation all the stagnant business enterprises which have been growing more and more paralyzed since the demonetization of silver and our bowing our necks to British rule. But being strictly American, as American as the spirit of Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln could desire, and looking toward the interest of the wealth creators of the Republic, whether they be manufacturers, merchants, artisans, or farmers, it is a demand that will naturally be bitterly opposed by the Anglo-maniacs and the tools of the gamblers of Wall Street and the gold ring generally.

In the second demand Mr. St. John advocates a tariff which would protect our newly established Southern cotton mills from the threatened competition of China and Japan, and "the increasing importation of long-stapled Egyptian in competition with our Sea Island cotton, and the ill effects of the abrogation of the tariff on wool along with the reduction in the tariff on woollen manufactures." Although it is unquestionably true that comparatively few thoughtful Americans, even among the manufacturers themselves, would favor the restoration of the tariff of the McKinley Bill which played so large a part in bringing disaster to the Republican party, it is doubtless true that a large majority of the American people—manufacturers, farmers, and artisans—are opposed to English free trade, though perhaps less strongly opposed to that than they are to the disastrous British gold monometallism, which is making our nation (so immensely rich in natural resources) year by year a greater and greater debtor nation, when it should be, year by year, becoming more and more a creditor nation.

Mr. St. John further provides against the oppression of the artisans

and the farmers by demanding not only that labor in the mills, factories, and the like receive liberal, continuous, and certain share of protection, but also that "the tariff devised shall afford also a protection to the farmer and the planter, and provide sufficient revenues for the necessary expenditures of government."

In reference to a reasonably protective tariff, which, as has just been pointed out, Mr. St. John explicitly demands should be so framed as to extend in its beneficial results to the farmer and the artisan, no less than to the manufacturer, it is well to bear in mind this fact: Mexico, probably the most prosperous nation of our time, has steadily stood by free and unlimited coinage of silver against the combined influence of European civilization and our own Republic. But she has carefully coupled this unlimited coinage of silver with protection, thus preventing her realm from being made the dumping-ground for the outputs of gold lands where money had been artificially appreciated for the few at the great expense of the many, and where in many instances starvation wages are the order of the day. Another fact to be borne in mind is the significant keynote sounded by Lord Salisbury a few years ago, indicating the policy which England undoubtedly intends to follow, provided they can succeed in the complete subjugation of the great Republic by the Bank of England ruinous financial policy, aided by the gold ring of America. In his famous declaration Lord Salisbury said that it was fair trade and not free trade that was wanted. This declaration, though premature, clearly indicated the policy which English statesmen have in mind, and which they intend to pursue if they can succeed in compassing *the complete dependency of the great Republic*. Her statesmen well know that if they can possibly succeed in overthrowing the American patriots who stand for a sound *American* financial policy and the permanent establishment of the gold ring of Lombard and Wall Streets in the once glorious and independent Republic, our splendid prestige as a leader among the great nations of the world will be lost, and what British bullets failed to accomplish during the Revolutionary War will be accomplished by British gold, the Tory class, and an overawed press, which feared the *phantom and the threats of those who are aliens in every impulse and instinct to sturdy republicanism or true democracy*. In this connection I am reminded of a recent utterance of the veteran banker and one of the world's greatest financial authorities, Jay Cook, in which he stated that "our national management for years has been like a people ashamed of what comes out of our soil and of the example of our fathers. We have discountenanced one half the monetary importance of silver, and to that extent have weakened our business activities."*

*Mr. Cook, in the interview to which I refer, also made the following significant reply to a question put by George Alfred Townsend:

"What is that volcano you were talking about, Mr. Cook?"

"I refer to the rapid manufacturing activity of Japan and China in duplicating cotton, metal, and about everything we manufacture in this country. Those people are contented, never forget anything when they have once learned it, and they still hold to silver coin, which costs but one half the same valuation now in gold. Don't you see that this difference of fifty per cent neutralizes the entire advantage of all our tariff legislation, if we should restore it? You buy \$100 worth of watches in Japan for silver worth \$50. You sell them in San Francisco for gold. Consequently, one

Being essentially conservative, in the highest and truest sense of this much abused term, Mr. St. John in the third place demands "the application of the principle defined as the Initiative and Referendum to all national legislation which involves any radical change in public policy;" pointing out that "the test may commend a broadening of the restriction, if found practicable. '*Should the great trunk lines of railway become a possession of the Government?*' would seem to be such a radical change in public policy as might wisely be referred to the people." Personally, I should suggest that the principles of the Initiative and Referendum be applied not only to national legislation, but to State and municipal. But it will be observed that this is covered by the preamble of the platform.

Finally, after very properly condemning the debauching of legislation by patronage to achieve legislation opposed to the will of the people as a vicious prostitution of executive influence, Mr. St. John continues:

"If all who have become distrustful of old parties and tired of boss rule will unite in these demands and nominate, on this platform, some man of such achievements as commend him to the conservative element of the country, and who is not a seeker after the preferment, he can be elected in the approaching campaign to the Presidency of the United States."

There is one point here which I think calls for serious thought, and that is Mr. St. John's reference to the nomination of a man whose achievements are such as to "commend him to the conservative elements of the country." In my judgment, the main demand by the Republic to-day must be for a man from the people; a man of undoubted honesty and integrity; a man essentially of the Abraham Lincoln type—and those who are acquainted with history will remember how fiercely that great apostle of freedom was condemned, prior to his nomination, by the conservative elements of the country, and how ridicule, abuse, and slander were heaped upon him; how continuously the element popularly termed conservative sought to frighten the people by all kinds of declarations in regard to Mr. Lincoln. But the people had become thoroughly aroused, almost as thoroughly as they are to-day; they had lost confidence in the men whom the pseudo conservatives desired, — for as a matter of fact the great rank and file of the wealth creators and not those who exploit their wealth are the real conservatives of the nation as they are its real strength. They called loudly for a man of the people—honest, tried, and true; a man who would uphold the law; a plain man, as democratic as Jefferson, as republican in instincts as Washington; not a man who distrusted them as did Alexander Hamilton or the present pseudo democratic administration, but a man on whom they could rely. And in my judgment the nomination of such a man, especially if he be selected from the South or the West, will insure the victory of the people in

hundred per cent of our tariff protective is wiped out right away. Can you call men statesmen who do a thing like that?"

Later in the same interview the veteran practical economist and banker observed: "I believe that if we had an honest Supreme Court it would declare that closing the mints to silver coinage was unconstitutional. There were thirteen States, or provinces, or nations, which handed over to the general government the right to coin money, and every one of them meant silver to be the material for coinage. The general government accepted the constitutional power, and monopoly, in the course of time, closes its mint to the producers of silver."

spite of the debauching influence of the gold power, the party machines, and the political bosses. In the present battle no straddle will win; the dishonest straddles, platitudes, and planks which have deluded the voters for the past quarter of a century will delude them no longer. An attempt to straddle will not only brand the parties which make it and their nominees as cowards, but it will also be regarded as evidence of dishonest deals on the part of the candidates in question. The hour for evasions is past; the battle to be fought this year is to be fought between England and America, between prosperity and disaster, which, like creeping paralysis, has been coming upon the nation ever since the triumph of Britain's gold policy.

A GLANCE OVER THE PAST AND A LOOK INTO THE FUTURE.

In opening another volume of the ARENA it seems fitting to briefly glance over the history of the review. The upholders of the letter and the scoffers of the spirit of the law declared from our opening issue that disaster must speedily overtake any great review that, to use the phrase of a leading thinker of Europe, "displayed an intellectual hospitality hitherto unknown" and which was so thoroughly courageous and unconventional that instead of displaying what may be termed a "fear of the Jews" (a fear of entrenched conventionalism) opened its columns to the various master minds among the prophets of new thought of our age, regardless as to whether their ideas were popularly tabooed or whether they agreed with the convictions of the editor of the ARENA. It has steadily grown in influence and circulation during a period of business stagnation and savage competition rarely, if ever, equalled in the history of the Republic.

Since the foundation of the ARENA, among those thinkers recognized as master minds in their special fields of research or in the realm of live and vital thought who have contributed to our pages, we mention the following among hundreds who might be mentioned. These, however, will serve to show that no review published is abler or more thoroughly in touch with the best and most vital thought of the new time. And it will also prove the intellectual hospitality which has marked the ARENA from the beginning.

The ARENA, to use the expression of a popular journalist, "does not live in the graveyards of the past," hence its popularity may fairly be accounted as due in part to its steady refusal to force upon its readers fossilized ideas from pedantic thinkers whose eyes are closed to the dawn or the possibility of grander achievements than those which have marked scholasticism in its narrow aspects.

A FEW CONTRIBUTORS DURING THE PAST SIX YEARS.

Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, LL. D.,
D. C. L.
Prof. Max Muller.
Rev. M. J. Savage.

Count Leo Tolstoi.
U. S. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge.
U. S. Senator John T. Morgan.
Washington Gladden, D. D.

- Rev. R. Heber Newton, D. D.
 Rev. Lyman Abbott, D. D.
 Prof. Richard T. Ely.
 Prof. John Clark Ridpath, LL. D.
 Bishop J. L. Spaulding.
 Col. Robert G. Ingersoll.
 Camille Flammarion.
 Emilio Castelar.
 Frances E. Willard.
 Helen Campbell.
 Edgar Fawcett.
 Hamilton Osgood, M. D.
 Elizabeth Cady Stanton.
 Prof. James T. Bixby, D. D.
 Rev. C. A. Bartol.
 Louis Frechette.
 Lawrence Gronlund.
 W. H. H. Myer of Cambridge,
 England.
 William Lloyd Garrison.
 Will Allen Dromgoole.
 Henry George.
 Thomas G. Shearman.
 Louis F. Post.
 Louise Chandler Moulton.
 Lillian Whiting.
 Stephen Crane.
 Dr. George F. Shradly, A. M., M. D.
 Prof. Charles M. Creighton, A. M.,
 M. D.
 Grace Greenwood.
 Gail Hamilton.
 Lady Haberton.
 Rev. John W. Chadwick.
 Prof. J. W. McGarvey.
 Frank B. Sanborn.
 Prof. George D. Herron.
 Marion Harland.
 Max O'Rell.
 Dr. Forbes Winslow, D. C. L.
 Pres. Charles W. Eliot, Harvard.
 Prof. Frank Parsons, Boston Uni-
 versity.
 Rev. Edward Everett Hale.
 Postmaster-General Wilson.
 U. S. Senator Marion Butler.
 Helen H. Gardener.
 Hamlin Garland.
 Lady Henry Somerset.
 William Ordway Partridge.
 Prof. William Sanday, LL. D., Ox-
 ford.
 W. D. McCrackan, A. M.
 Prof. J. Heber Smith, M. D.
 Mary A. Livermore.
 Canon W. H. Freemantle.
 Helena Modjeska.
 Joaquin Miller.
 Henry Wood.
 The Marquis of Lorne.
 Prof. A. E. Dolbear.
 Moncure D. Conway.
 Rev. George C. Lorimer.
 Prof. Mary Lowe Dickinson, Pres.
 National Council of Women.
 Mme. Blaze De Bury.
 Julian Hawthorne.
 Julius Chambers.
 Hon. David A. Wells.
 Prof. T. Funck-Brentano of Paris.
 E. P. Powell.
 B. F. Underwood.
 U. S. Senator James H. Kyle.
 Gerald Massey.
 May Wright Sewall.
 James A. Herne (Author of
 "Shore Acres").
 Pres. E. B. Andrews of Brown
 University.

These are only a few of the many illustrious persons who
 have contributed their best thought to the ARENA.

Among notable papers by eminent thinkers who have con-
 tributed to the ARENA during the past six months we desire
 to call special attention to series of papers by *Prof. John
 Clark Ridpath, LL. D.*, America's most eminent historian,
 the well-known author of the "Great Races of Mankind,"
 "The History of the World," and "The History of the
 United States," *Prof. Frank Parsons* of the Boston Uni-
 versity, *Justice Walter Clark, LL. D.*, of the supreme bench
 of North Carolina, and *Prof. George D. Herron*; besides
 individual papers of special interest to thinking people by
Rev. M. J. Savage, *Prof. Richard T. Ely* of the University of

Wisconsin, *Dr. Forbes Winslow, D. C. L., Edward Everett Hale, United States Senator Marion Butler, Frank B. Sanborn*, the eminent author, *Rev. Lyman Abbott, D. D., of Plymouth Church, Edgar Fawcett, Postmaster-General Wilson, Helen Campbell, Mary Lowe Dickinson*, President of Women's Council of America, *Will Allen Dromgoole*, who is appearing in one of the most powerful serials which has been written in this decade, and *Prof. James T. Birby, Ph. D.* These are the names of a few of the scholarly thinkers who have contributed to recent issues of the ARENA.

Our June number speaks for itself. The paper by Rev. Samuel J. Barrows, D. D., editor of the *Christian Register*, Boston, and a man acknowledged to be one of the most earnest religious thinkers of our time, will be of special interest to a large number of our readers. The paper by William P. St. John, President of the Mercantile National Bank of New York, will also be of special interest. Eltweed Pomeroy is at present the recognized leader of the working forces who are engaged in an endeavor to bring about direct legislation in the United States; hence his paper will be of uncommon interest. Justice Clark closes his powerful and convincing series of papers on Mexico and her phenomenal prosperity in this issue. The remarkably able paper by A. J. Utley on Bimetallism will be read by our readers with more than usual interest. Prof. Parsons is literally undermining the foundations of one of the most dangerous monopolies of America to-day in his powerful and exhaustive papers on the telegraph monopoly. His data and arguments are to-day being used as a reservoir for facts by statesmen, economists, and students who believe in a republic and who are waking up to the fact that the people have "slept over long." But at the present time we merely desire to call attention to the strength and vital force and ability which mark the opening issue of volume sixteen of the ARENA. It is our determination to make this volume eclipse all previous volumes in ability and vigor, no less than in the conscience element, which one correspondent observes "makes the ARENA unique among the great and original reviews and magazines in a wilderness of literature characterized by no special progressive idea, conviction, courage, or virility."

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Volume Sixteen of The Arena.

With this issue we open volume sixteen of the ARENA, and we take pleasure in calling the attention of thinking people among the conscience element of society to this issue, as an earnest of what they may expect in the ensuing volume. We shall leave no stone unturned in our efforts to make the ARENA not only the largest but the most attractive review published in the English-speaking world for broad-minded, justice-loving men and women who are not only not afraid to think, but who are sick of the mental inanity which characterizes so much periodical literature of the present day. We have arranged for so much that is strong, vital, and ennobling from the pens of the world's recognized leaders and specialists, that we feel confident in assuring our readers that volume sixteen of the ARENA will eclipse all previous volumes in value for thoughtful men and women who are in touch with the great live and vital problems of the hour.

An Authoritative Utterance of McKinley Against Silver.

The *Times Herald* of Chicago, edited and published by Mr. H. H. Kohlsaat, on May 5 contained the following:

A year ago, in Thomasville, Ga., Major McKinley, when offered the delegates of three Southern States if he would declare for free silver, said in the presence of the editor of this journal:

"If the Republican platform declares for

free coinage I will not be a candidate. I would not run on a free silver platform."

In referring to this utterance the New York *World* observes that "Mr. Kohlsaat is perhaps McKinley's most intimate political friend next to Mark Hanna, and this statement would scarcely have been made without the knowledge of the protectionist leader."

But it matters little whether the "war tariff champion," who has been called the father of the last Republican Waterloo, knew of the publication of this statement or not. The fact as averred by the editor of the *Times Herald* that McKinley *did make this statement* before he was aware of the tremendous uprising of the people of the South and West in favor of free coinage of silver, due to the accentuation of the disastrous and panicky state of things which has prevailed more and more markedly ever since the domination of British rule through gold monometallism in the Republic, would prevent any sincere friend of silver from for one moment considering the advisability of casting his vote for Ohio's "artful dodger."

The Old Parties at Their Old Game of Trying to Deceive the Voter.

The California Republican convention declared for *free silver* and instructed for *McKinley*. The day following the Indiana Republican convention instructed for *McKinley* and declared that it was "opposed to free coinage of silver." The *Indiana Democrats* put forward Gov. Matthews as their presidential candidate, who favors the will-o'-the-wisp international bimetalism, a gold monometallic subterfuge which all thinking men know

would be absolutely impossible until the *United States remonetizes silver*. And on the same day New Jersey Democrats instructed their delegates for W. E. Russell on a gold platform. These are typical illustrations of the tactics being pursued by the two parties owned by Wall Street in their effort to further enslave the wealth creators of America. They have played this game for a quarter of a century while monopolies and trusts have flourished and grown fat over the wealth created by the masses and while the bread winners have been constantly pushed nearer and nearer the wall.

A Thing for Voters to Bear in Mind : The Gold Party is Never Deceived.

One thing should be borne in mind by every intelligent voter at the present time, and that is, that the gold party is never deceived. It very frequently allows the voters to think that it is going to be deceived, but it has so complete a hold upon the throat of the two old parties that it will defeat or control any nominee of these parties. Hence the salvation of the Republic lies in an independent movement on the part of the patriots of America. We have got to break from British rule this year as certainly as we broke from British rule in '76. History is repeating itself, with this exception : to-day we have the ballot box, then our fathers had no alternative but recourse to arms. Let every patriot be on his guard from now on. The next President *must be an American in deed as well as in word.*

The Proposed Platform for the Unification of all Americans Opposed to Plutocracy and "Boss Rule."

In this issue of the ARENA Mr. William P. St. John, one of the most careful and authoritative financiers and the president of the Mercantile National Bank of New

York, which has a capital stock of \$1,000,000, proposes a platform for American Independents for 1896, to which we call special attention. Mr. St. John has been a consistent friend of silver at all times; he has been tried as by fire and proved true. He believes the people can elect the next President and House, and bring about a condition of prosperity not known since the Republico-Democratic rule which has existed since the demonetization of silver. He has more than once discomfited the paid attorneys of the gold ring, and is recognized as one of the most careful authorities among the great bankers of America to-day, hence his words will have great weight with those who look to recognized authorities among *practical and theoretical* financiers of the country.

The First Pagan Critic of Christianity.

Dr. Samuel J. Barrows, the scholarly editor of the *Christian Register* of this city, is recognized as one of the ablest thinkers among careful and broad-minded and yet critical Christian scholars. His paper on Celsus in this issue is a notable contribution to authoritative religious thought of our age, and written as it is in a broad but truly reverent spirit, it is well calculated to awaken general interest among Christians who think.

The Direct Legislation Movement and Its Leaders.

Eltweed Pomeroy is to-day unquestionably the head and front of the working forces who are laboring to secure the ideal republican measure of direct legislation in our government. In his exceedingly interesting paper on this subject he has furnished a sketch which will do much good in educating the people. The illustrations accompanying this paper will add greatly to the interest of the paper.

Bimetallism.

One of the most influential gentlemen in the East writes me that Justice Clark has completely changed his views on the money question. This person does not belong to the millions upon millions of voters who during the past twelve years "*have been educated through their stomachs.*" He, in common with tens of thousands of others, has hitherto failed to awaken to the fact (to borrow the language of the president of the Mercantile National Bank of New York) that the metropolitan and New England press have been systematically protecting their readers from knowledge on the money question. The ARENA alone has been the unpurchased and unpurchasable organ through which great thinkers and master minds on finance have spoken boldly and freely against the British policy which is so rapidly reducing the Republic to practically the condition of an English dependency. And in this connection I urge our readers to compare such authorities and master minds as Dr. John Clark Ridpath, LL. D., America's leading living historian, Justice Walter Clark, LL. D., of the supreme bench of North Carolina, and an eminent legal author as well as jurist, Jay Cook, one of the foremost financiers of the world, William P. St. John, president of the Mercantile National Bank of New York, with numbers of other thinkers equally eminent *and who have no interest whatever in free coinage other than the prosperity of the people, good times and general happiness*, with such persons as the young man who has been aptly styled the "boy in finance," who today is comptroller of the treasury, and whose grovelling attitude before plutocracy is almost as pitiful as that of the Secretary of the Treasury and the rest of the cuckoo cabinet and the President of secret bond ill odor.

On the one hand we have great, big-

brained patriots and master minds who are wholly unfettered, on the other we have a spaniel-like group who jump at the crack of the whip of Wall and Lombard Streets.

In this issue will be found a powerful argument on bimetallism by A. J. Utley, which forms one of a series of papers which have played so important a part in nullifying the influence of the hirelings of the gold power throughout the Republic.

Mental Cure in its Relation to Modern Thought.

Horatio W. Dresser is one of a coterie of earnest and scholarly thinkers who, like Henry Wood, are making a distinct impression on thinking and receptive minds. His paper, which is a feature of this issue, will appeal to those whose minds are open to the thorough investigation of truth.

Mr. George P. Keeney, the National Organizer of the Silver Organization of America.

I have been much impressed by the splendid work being accomplished by George P. Keeney, national organizer of the American Silver Organization. Mr. Keeney has accomplished magnificent results; he is one of those rare men who know how to organize and carry victory with them. On the Pacific coast and in the Atlantic division, as well as elsewhere, his work has been marked by rare sagacity, a broad, comprehensive grasp of complex situations, and the peculiar power of a general who quickly sees the strong and weak points of the opposing forces and also understands how to meet obstacles, and when to speak and when to be quiet. These are the qualities which are rarely found in a leader, and especially in one who has

allied himself to the reform cause, and with conviction and determination works for the prosperity and the happiness of the people. Mr. Keeney came east without a cent of aid, nor has he received any remuneration for his services, but, moved by the conviction which compels men to action at times of great crises, he has wrought patiently, quickly, and wisely. I have seldom, if ever, seen a young man who impressed me as possessing in so eminent a degree the qualities of generalship and those of a successful organizer as Mr. Keeney. He seems to me to be a man raised up for an important work at one of the great crises in our history.

A Prophet of Freedom.

In my sketch of Whittier I have striven to picture the man who, aside from whatever convictions we may individually hold as to the wisdom of his course, stood for what he believed to be the cause of God, freedom and justice. This view of Whittier is particularly inspiring to us at the present time, when we are engaged in a tremendous battle for freedom against the organized greed of a rapacious plutocracy.

Prof. Parsons's Masterly Arraignment of Telegraph Monopoly.

Prof. Parsons of Boston University continues his masterly arraignment of the telegraph monopoly in this issue. This scholar, economist, author, and lecturer on law, as well as attorney, brings to his work an amount of research and the careful methods of a trained scholar. It is safe to say that never before have the citizens of our Republic had so exhaustive, complete, and courageous an arraignment of one of the most dangerous octopuses in this country, as in this remarkable paper.

Editorial of Atlanta "Constitution" on Facts from Boston.

I recently wrote a communication to the *Atlanta Constitution*, which appeared April 11, and which was copied by the New Orleans *Times-Democrat* in its issue of April 14. In this letter I gave facts touching the union of the gold forces of this coast to further drain the wealth creators of America. The *Constitution* made the following editorial notice, to which is also appended Justice Clark's statement, which should be read and reread by every bread-winner of the Republic.

FACTS FROM BOSTON.

We print in another column an exceedingly interesting letter from Mr. B. O. Flower, editor of the *ARENA* of Boston.

The attention of our readers is called particularly to the statements of Mr. Flower with regard to the attitude of eastern Democrats and Republicans with respect to the money question. The leaders of both parties in that section are cheek by jowl with each other on the money question. They stand shoulder to shoulder against the interests of the people and in behalf of the interests of the money power.

The worst feature of the whole business is that the editors of the great dailies in that part of the country are overawed by the money power. They suppress all discussion of the money question except from the standpoint of gold monometallism, and will not allow the undeniable facts and irrefutable arguments in favor of the restoration of silver to appear, so that those who read only the newspapers in the great financial centres do not know anything about the money question.

In one respect, we are glad to say, this policy of suppression has overreached itself. The cause of bimetallism has been so persistently belittled in the daily papers of the East that the money power has been terribly deceived as to the strength and influence of the silver movement among the people. The result is that such agencies of Wall and Lombard Streets as the New York Chamber of Commerce have been induced to throw off the mask in time for the people of the country to understand and appre-

ciate precisely the nature of the issue that is before them.

Another interesting fact mentioned by Mr. Flower is that Mr. Cleveland, after announcing that "public office is a public trust," proceeds to lift the Boston attorney of trusts to the position of attorney-general of the United States, and, as if this distinction were not great enough to confer on the attorney of the whiskey trust, he was lifted to the position of Secretary of State when a vacancy occurred. The theory seems to have been that a "public trust" ought to be guarded and looked after by the agent of a private trust.

The New York *World* found out the facts about Olney, and for a time made quite a sensation of the matter. But, in some mysterious way, the editor of the *World* discovered, or was advised, that these attacks on Cleveland and Olney were calculated to injure the glorious cause of "sound" money. So the tirade against Olney's undemocratic record was cut short, and, in the eyes of the *World*, not only is Mr. Olney a great man, but a pure statesman whose shortcomings have been bleached white by his devotion to the British gold standard.

Mr. Flower also calls attention to the letter written by Justice Walter Clark of the Supreme Court of North Carolina. We append to the communication of the editor of the ARENA the letter written by Justice Clark. What he says is of surpassing interest to the cotton growers of the South. A few years ago, when the Mexican dollar was equal to ours, the cotton manufacturers paid thirteen cents a pound for our cotton. They are still paying thirteen cents a pound in their money, but the southern grower only receives seven cents in gold, six cents less than he received in gold a few years ago.

This confirms what the *Constitution* has said all along, that although their debts and taxes have been doubled the farmers of the South are compelled to sell their cotton at prices measured by the apparent depreciation of silver. They sold their cotton for thirteen cents when gold and silver were together. They are now compelled to sell a short crop for seven cents and a big crop for four cents.

If the merchants and business men of the South cannot see how they are hurt by this depreciation of cotton, we are

very sorry for them. We can only hope that they will open their eyes to the plain facts in due time.

JUSTICE CLARK'S STATEMENT.

In his Mexican letter to the ARENA above referred to, Justice Walter Clark of the bench of the Supreme Court of North Carolina said:

I visited the Hercules cotton mill, two miles south of the city. It is a large establishment, with two thousand spindles and eleven hundred looms, and is admirably managed. It has the latest machinery. I inquired the price paid for cotton, and was told sixteen to seventeen cents at the factory. Up in the Mapimi country, in Durango, where it was produced, the price was thirteen and one half to fourteen and one half cents, and later on, at a cotton factory in the suburbs of Oaxaca six hundred miles south of this, the superintendent informed me that they paid eighteen to nineteen cents. In the United States Consular Reports for September last our consul at Matamoros reports cotton selling to the factories at Monterey at sixteen to eighteen cents. On investigation I found all the prices about equalled thirteen cents in New Orleans, the tariff, freight, and charges making it cost sixteen to seventeen cents at Queretaro and eighteen to nineteen cents at Oaxaca, and they pay the local producer the New Orleans price plus these charges. Mexico does not produce enough cotton to clothe all her population. Her manufacturers buy in New Orleans the quantity the country fails to produce. A few years ago, when their dollar and ours were equal, they paid on an average thirteen cents in New Orleans and in the very same money, but owing to the enforced enhancement in the value of our money, by manipulated legislation, this thirteen cents, instead of being equal as it should honestly be to thirteen cents in our money, is only equal to about seven cents in our "increased value" money. The direct loss to the cotton planter of the South is, therefore, \$30 per bale, or \$200,000,000 annual loss to the South on this one crop. The same is true of the wheat and corn of the West and all other crops—corn and wheat being \$1 to \$1.40 per bushel in Mexico in their currency, which has remained in value unchanged by legislation. The assertion about over-

production is a myth, as the countless thousands of half-clothed and half-fed people in the United States know only too well. The trouble is in the legislative increase of the value of the dollar made in order that those who live by clipping coupons from Government, State, and other bonds, and on the public taxes, may be twice as rich as formerly without any additional exertion. They are twice as rich with the labor of clipping only the same number of coupons.

This is America and not Russia, Mr. Cleveland.

Since the last election of President Cleveland his motto seems to have been, "*What the Bank of England and the Wall Street gamblers want, I want,*" and he has been so successful in bending his cuckoo tools to his will that he evidently imagined the people at large had lost the capacity for reasoning independently. Rolling in quickly acquired wealth himself, he seems to be oblivious to the fact that during the last four years of his administration, even more, if possible, than during the term of his Republican predecessor, the people have been educated through their stomachs. Hence, being accustomed to having spaniel-like sycophants around him, hungry for patronage and relying on the immense expenditure and resources of the gold ring, he is amazed at the insurrection of the people. On this point the *New York Mail and Express* observes editorially:

If Mr. Cleveland persists in his grand, gloomy, and peculiar attitude in favor of sound money, he will soon find himself left deserted and alone by his party. In that emergency the thing for him to do will be to put away his trusty shotgun, seize a spade and go forth to resurrect the old Whig party. The President's political future evidently lies in the direction of the territory now permanently occupied by the once conscious Whig organization.

This is America and not Russia, Mr.

Cleveland, and the masses are not the cuckoos you imagined.

Mr. McKinley and the Gold Ring.

At present writing Mr. McKinley's henchmen are very busy asserting that their idol is a firm gold man, and in the White House he doubtless would be as pliant a tool of the gold ring as have been the late Presidents of both parties. But Major McKinley or any other tool of the gold ring will not be elected President in the coming campaign. The gold ring as well as the old parties have overreached themselves. Mark this prediction. This is of all years not the year for straddles. Honest, clear-cut declarations will alone prevail.

The Uprising of the People Against Their Egyptian Taskmasters and the Assassins of Prosperity.

The attempt of the discredited administration and the Wall Street ring to hide their shame and mortification over the tremendous uprising of the South and West, and the numerous signs of open insurrection in the East, by the claim that they have been caught napping, is as false as it is babyish. The plain fact is that those who have been battenning off of American wealth creators have bent every nerve and muscle to hold the masses in continued bondage. To this end a bold attempt has been made to prostitute the country press of the land by the gold ring, by offering supplements and plate matter FREE OF CHARGE to struggling papers who would accept the bait. Commenting on the discomfiture of the administration on this point, the *New York Mail and Express* of April 20 says:

A week ago the President and his gold-standard cabinet figured the probable silver majority at Chicago as not far from

one hundred. This they did not consider too long a lead to overcome by some bold move, such as the entrance of Mr. Cleveland himself into the field as the avowed apostle of the single gold standard. But to-day the gold Democrats are more than ever seriously alarmed at the discovery that their figures need further revision and that the free-silver men will have greater strength than had been calculated. Indeed, it is now a question whether the silver Democrats, with the unit rule at their back, may not be able to command, not only the majority vote in the convention necessary to adopt their platform, but the two-thirds vote required to name their candidate.

HARD FIGHTS LOST.

It has not been generally known how hard a fight the administration has been making in certain States to control the delegations to Chicago, and the administration itself is only just learning how thoroughly it has been whipped in these local and preliminary contests. Whether it can retrieve its fortunes in the grand battle at Chicago by some yet hidden *coup*, in face of the free-silver majority apparent to-day, is yet to be shown. But it is certain that Cleveland has met disaster upon many a field in individual States. Nothing could be more overwhelming than his overthrow in Missouri, which puts forward Silver Dollar Bland as its presidential candidate. Bland won't be nominated. His entrance into the White House would ruin the furniture, and his use of the knife at State dinners would cause the diplomatic corps to shudder. No Eastern Democrat is yet ready to picture as a presidential possibility a man who prides himself upon the accuracy of his aim in expectation, and whose ignorance of the civilized use of handkerchiefs and napkins is equally hopeless. But the personality makes no difference. Missouri will send to Chicago a delegation unanimous for free silver, despite the most strenuous efforts of Mr. Cleveland's personal friend and political lieutenant in the Southwest, ex-Governor Francis.

It is a mistake to assume, as many Eastern Democrats are assuming, that the gold Democrats have not scented the battle far in advance, or that they have been idle through over-confidence. The contrary is the case. The fourth nomina-

tion of Cleveland, though held in the background and subject to disavowal at any moment, has been the inspiration of the hard fight which at the moment looks as if it were lost.

For example, nowhere has the administration made a harder fight than in Alabama. There were two reasons for this, each being furnished by the vigorous personality of the Alabama senators. Mr. Morgan, who, until the reorganization of the Senate committees, was chairman of that upon Foreign Relations, has consistently opposed President Cleveland's foreign as well as financial policy. Mr. Pugh, whose age has in not the slightest degree dimmed his intellectual acuteness or combative aggressiveness, has even more offended Mr. Cleveland. So it was that the administration has during all the winter centred its batteries upon the home stronghold of Morgan and Pugh. The aim was not only to defeat Pugh for re-election, but to capture the Alabama delegation to Chicago. With this in view, Alabama has been literally bombarded for months with sound-money literature, much of it mailed under the franking privilege, addressed to almost every voter in the State. But the effort has failed. Though classed as doubtful in the administration tally, there is no doubt that the Alabama delegation will vote against Cleveland at Chicago. Similar administration campaigns have failed in Mississippi, Arkansas, Kansas, Texas, and even in Illinois. Should the gold of the gold power and the administration defeat the voice of Democracy in the Chicago convention it would be the best possible thing that could happen for the nation, otherwise the administration would knife Democracy's candidate and secretly aid the other nominee of Wall Street and the Bank of England.

The Sad Incompleteness of the Cuckoo Chorus led by Cleveland and Quay.

Boss Quay has joined Boss Cleveland in the cuckoo chorus for honest money. The pity of the present travesty on honesty is its incompleteness. We ought to have Boss Tweed to raise his voice for honesty in municipal government, *then the thing would be complete.*

Between Two Worlds.

Special attention is called to Mrs. Calvin Kryder Reifsnider's story in this issue, in which will be found a brief review of previous chapters and an excellent collection of illustrations of a very superior character, which will add greatly to the interest of this remarkable psychic romance, so rich in suggestive thought for those in touch with the broad, high spiritual thought which is profoundly moving the best minds of our civilization to-day. This story grows in strength and dramatic force with each succeeding chapter. The tens of thousands of readers of the ARENA who have been greatly interested in this story will be eager to procure a copy of Mrs. Reifsnider's new work, just issued, entitled "True Memory, the Philosopher's Stone."

Mexico, Free Silver, and Prosperity.

Justice Walter Clark, LL. D., of the supreme bench of North Carolina, an economist of the first rank and a jurist who is justly entitled to a foremost position among the honorable members of the supreme benches of our States, closes his masterly series of papers in this issue of the ARENA. Justice Clark was not content with hearsay—his mind had been too long trained to the judicial method to be even satisfied with the superficial methods of a hasty traveller. Hence he went to our sister Republic under the auspices of the ARENA in December and remained until summoned by duty's call to be present at the meeting of the Supreme Court of North Carolina in February. His examination was careful and exhaustive, while his scholarship and his high legal attainments make his contributions of the greatest possible value to thinking men and women who have been so long deceived by the pharisees of Wall Street that they to-day find the Republic paralyzed and filled with discontent born of

hard conditions, while Mexico enjoys unparalleled prosperity.

The Century of Sir Thomas More.

Probably no work dealing in a popular way with historical, biographical, and economic themes has appeared during recent months which has received anything like the favorable notices from competent critics as "The Century of Sir Thomas More." It will be gratifying to our readers to know that it is being largely introduced into schools. Below we give extracts from notices from a few critical journals.

SOME OPINIONS OF THE PRESS OF THE EMPIRE STATE.

The Independent of New York, N. Y.

Mr. Flower has chosen for his subject the picturesque, stirring, and momentous period at which mediævalism ends and the modern world begins. He has read what has been written on the period and the men, and read intelligently with open mind and with independent judgment. His style is interesting; he writes sensibly and seriously from a Christian point of view, and in a hopeful, optimistic tone. The author's attitude to the religious leaders of the Reformation is both sound and considerate.

Daily Journal, Albany, N. Y.

We of to-day are in the midst of struggles much like those that marked the century of Sir Thomas More. The dreamer of "Utopia" wrote in a period of transition, when with pain and anguish an outgrown order gave birth to civilization and a freer State. The battle of those times is again waged, and "The Century of Sir Thomas More," by B. O. Flower, comes alike with scholarly tread and timely presence to appeal to the reading public of to-day. It will be recalled that that century deals with leaders of the Protestant Reformation, and one expects to read of leading spirits, to take a survey of the Italian peninsula during the renaissance, to note Spanish discoveries and conquests, to take a little journey in France, to wander in the realms of fact before

going to Utopia, and all this the reader does; and then Mr. Flower delightfully draws parallels, marks contrasts, notes transition periods, and brings us quickly down to date. Here one renews acquaintance with the world's schoolmasters and sits restfully yet studiously at the feet of a Gamaliel who has studied the prophets and courted the shades of the fathers. The book is delightful reading.

New York Daily Commercial Advertiser.

To cover the progress in religious thought and scientific attainment of a whole century in one moderately sized volume is a task calling for much skill in book-making. In "The Century of Sir Thomas More" Mr. B. O. Flower has shown that he possesses that skill. The work is complete and well written. The author has evidently taken ample time and great pains to the work and verified his statements by a consultation of all the recognized authorities on the various topics he introduces. Thus the volume affords a popular reflex of the period without any more trivial detail than is necessary to make the principal characters and events stand forth with the sharpness their importance demands. There are numerous portraits of famous men of Sir Thomas More's century, including one of Sir Thomas himself as a frontispiece. The typography, paper, and binding are worthy of the good literary character of the volume.

New York Daily Herald, New York, N. Y.

The most tremendous epoch in history has been treated by B. O. Flower, in "The Century of Sir Thomas More." The subject would need a library for its thorough elucidation, since the magnitude of the work accomplished in that one century was incomparably greater than in any other; yet the author, in less than three hundred pages, has set forth much that deserves our admiration, much that may increase our appreciation of the events and their consequences. Happily, the author has given us a philosophical treat-

ise, with only so much intrusion of facts as was unavoidable for the entire comprehension of his reasonings and conclusions. The result is that the student of men and things is enabled to gather valuable instruction from the book without the tedious rehearsal and elaboration of familiar truths. The author emphasizes the importance of his task by his enumeration of matters as they were throughout the world when More came on the scene. The whole is summarized in the quotation from John Addington Symonds: "The Renaissance was the liberation of the reason from a dungeon, the double discovery of the outer and inner world."

Bookseller, Newsdealer, and Stationer, New York, N. Y.

A most valuable volume, treating of the most interesting period of the world's history with the comprehensiveness of a historian and the broad scholarship of a philosopher.

Bookseller and Newsman, New York, N. Y.

For a work of this character a more fitting writer than Mr. Flower could not be found. The thinker and scholar will find it an extremely welcome volume.

ONE OF THE MOST CRITICAL JOURNALS OF BOSTON.

Boston Courier, Boston, Mass.

The work is exceedingly attractive in style and magnetic in spirit. It is calculated to inspire while it also instructs. Reading the fair open pages, with their hospitable look for eye, brain, and conviction, is better than the sensuous excitement of novel reading and the dissipation of realistic modern fiction. If one would obtain a clear, closely related, comprehensive view of one of the greatest centuries in human civilization, he will get it from a perusal of this book in the spirit in which it is written, and it will be impressed permanently upon both his mental and his moral nature. It is eloquent throughout in the very plainness and directness of its masterly simplicity.

Ill Tempered Babies

are not desirable in any home. Insufficient nourishment produces ill-temper. Guard against fretful children by feeding nutritious and digestible food. The Gail Borden Eagle Brand Condensed Milk is the most successful of all infant foods.

If the Baby is Cutting Teeth,

Be sure and use that old and well-tried remedy, Mrs. Winslow's SOOTHING SYRUP for children teething. It soothes the child, softens the gum, allays all pain, cures wind colic and is the best remedy for diarrhea. Twenty-five cents a bottle.



THIS IS THE LADY

who sends free to all afflicted women a safe, simple, home treatment for female diseases. A very desirable remedy that seldom fails to cure even the most serious cases. Also full instructions for self-treatment, and how to regain health without the aid of physicians. Address: Mrs. L. HUDNUT, South Bend, Ind.

FACTS AND NEWS NOTES RELATING TO THE ORDER OF PATRIOTS OF AMERICA, CHICAGO, ILL.

The growth of the new non-partisan political organization known as the Patriots of America is unparalleled in the history of popular movements. Without a salaried officer of any sort and with no especially empowered organizer in the field, the spirit of this order has extended across the country in the brief time of one hundred and five days (to April 10, 1896), since Dec. 18, 1895, the date of the first lodge charter, until its membership now embraces citizens in thirty-one States and territories. The lodges are located as follows:

ARKANSAS: Mountainsburg, Cedarville, and Sands Point, Crawford County; Greeley, Jefferson County.

CALIFORNIA: Galt and Clay, Sacramento County; Lodi and Acampo, San Joaquin County; Oakland, Alameda County; Redding, Shasta County.

COLORADO: Colebran, Mesa County; Coledale, Fremont County; Seibert, Kit Carson County; Manitou, El Paso County; Lockett, Saguache County; Hotchkiss, Delta County.

CONNECTICUT: Waterbury, New Haven County.

FLORIDA: Pensacola, Escambia County.

GEORGIA: Baconton, Mitchell County.

IDAHO: Hagerman, Logan County.

ILLINOIS: Chicago, Cook County (four lodges); Cobden and Dongola, Union County; Canton (two lodges) and Monterey, Fulton County; Hava, Mason County; Princeton and Walnut, Bureau County; Bellmont, Wabash County; Rock Island, Rock Island County; Galesburg, Wataga, and Abingdon, Knox County; Gordon, Crawford County; Plainfield, Will County; Paris, Edgar County; Cable, Mercer County; Woodstock, McHenry County; Dixon, Lee County; Xenia, Clay County; Pana, Christian County; Barry, Pike County; Moriah, Clark County; Glen Ellyn, Du Page County; Mt. Sterling, Brown County; Greenup, Cumberland County.

INDIANA: Warsaw, Kocinsko County; New Castle, La Porte County.

INDIAN TERRITORY: Talata, Cherokee County.

IOWA: Des Moines, Polk County; Villisca, Montgomery County; Chariton and Lucas, Lucas County; Avoca and Council Bluffs, Pottawotamie County; Marshalltown, Marshall County; Tama, Tama County; Iowa Falls, Hardin County; Madrid, Boone County; Riverton, Fremont County.

KANSAS: Kansas City, Wyandotte County; Wichita, Sedgwick County; Wamego, Pottawotamie County; Hutchinson, Reno County.

KENTUCKY: Pittsburg, Laurel County; Parker's Grove, La Rue County.

LOUISIANA: Jeanette, Iberia County.

MICHIGAN: Standish (four lodges), Omer, and Sterling, Arenac County; Bellaire and Eastport, Antrim County; Mendon, St. Joseph

County; Cheshire, Allegan County; Greenville (four lodges), Sheridan, and Sidney, Montcalm County; Watervliet and Bainbridge, Berrien County; Caldwell, Isabella County; Lawrence, Van Buren County; Rice Creek, Calhoun County; Midland, Midland County; Brookfield and Eaton Rapids, Eaton County; Charlevoix, Charlevoix County; Grand Rapids and Ula, Kent County; Lapeer, Lapeer County.

MINNESOTA: Fergus Falls, Otter Tail County; Maple Ridge, Isanti County; Northcote, Kittson County.

MISSOURI: Webb City, Jasper County; New London (two lodges), Cincinnati, Centre (two lodges), and Spalding, Ralls County; Eau de Vie, Christian County; Roscoe and Osceola, St. Clair County; West Sparta and Edgewood, Pike County; Current View, Ripley County; Dexter, Stoddard County; Chaonia, Wayne County.

MONTANA: Neilhart, Meagher County; Great Falls, Cascade County.

NEBRASKA: Central City, Clarks, and Palmer, Merrick County; Avoca, Cass County; Loup City and Litchfield, Sherman County; Oakdale, Antelope County; Gibbon (two lodges), Buffalo County; Chadron, Dawes County; Arcadia, Valley County.

NEW YORK: Southwest Oswego, Oswego County.

OHIO: Greenville, New Madison, North Star, Hagerman, and New Weston, Darke County; Hamilton, Butler County; Spore, Crawford County.

OKLAHOMA TERRITORY: Oklahoma City, Edmond (three lodges), Oklahoma County; Wandell and Kingfisher, Kingfisher County; Anvil, Lincoln County; Herron, Canadian County; Downs, Logan County.

OREGON: Crawfordsville and Holley, Linn County; Hillsboro, Washington County; Palestine, Multnomah County; Mount Hood, Wasco County.

SOUTH DAKOTA: Hetland, Kingsbury County; Dalesburg, Clay County; Mitchell, Davison County; Spokane, Custer County.

TENNESSEE: Wanita, Knox County; Harms, Lincoln County; Hardisons Mills, Maury County; Tullahoma, Coffee County.

TEXAS: Dallas, Dallas County.

UTAH: Morgan, Morgan County.

VIRGINIA: Blacksburg, Montgomery County.

WASHINGTON: Ocosta, Chehalis County; Oroville, Okanogan County; Seattle, King County; Carson, Skamania County.

WISCONSIN: Whitewater, Walworth County; Magnolia, Rock County.

WYOMING: Marysville, Uintah County; Lander, Fremont County; Woods, Albany County.

Although the purpose of the Patriots of America is to exert a beneficial influence on the politics and government of this country by elevating its members to a higher understanding of the duties of citizenship, the order has no connection with any one of the three national political parties. Citizens of whatever political party affiliation or religious faith and no matter where born are eligible to membership if they accept the broad principle that human rights and the general welfare of a common country are paramount to selfish interests.

The order is committed to but one issue of the many that are now prominently before the people of this country; that is, the restoration of the coinage law that existed prior to 1873. The restoration of silver as primary money is demanded because the act of 1873, by which silver was denied equality with gold as a measure of value, was passed in such a manner as to justify the

belief that the bill was a measure instigated solely by the selfish money power and not in answer to popular opinion and desire. The question whether or not the government should continue the free coinage of silver, however, and all other matters of governmental policy, it is proposed to refer to the vote of the members of the order throughout the country by a system provided for in the constitution.

The scheme of the order provides for national, State, and county organizations. All legislative power is vested in the members of the order, the officers possessing merely executive authority. At the head of each county organization is an officer known as County Patriot; the chief State officer is known as State Patriot, and the principal officer of the order is the National Patriot. These officers are required to take the following oath:

"I do solemnly swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States, the State in which I live, and the constitution of the order of the Patriots of America. I will do all in my power to aid and encourage the growth of said order and will faithfully execute to the best of my ability its wishes and decrees. I recognize the divinity of unselfish intelligence and cheerfully yield allegiance to the principle that the judgment of a majority of this order, if carried out, will result in good to all the members thereof.

"I furthermore give willing recognition to the principle that 'man serves himself best when he promotes the common good.'

"Also, that in the position that I am about to occupy I should by example teach the unselfish devotion to principle upon which this order is founded. And in testimony thereof I do hereby renounce for life all political office either by election or appointment unless relieved of this obligation as provided for in said constitution. I also renounce all earthly possessions except to the value of \$100,000, and only retain my right to property of this value, should I be rightfully possessed of the same, out of respect and duty to those dependent upon me; all surplus over that amount which may come into my possession I shall give or devise to this order."

To relieve an officer of this obligation requires the consent of ninety per cent of the entire membership of the order expressed by ballot.

No other officers or members take this oath. The object in having these principal officers take the oath of renunciation is to free them from the temptation of using the order to advance their selfish gain by political promotion or the acquirement of wealth. The further purpose sought is to free the order of a danger that has caused discord and frequently the overthrow of other organizations through persons aspiring to hold the principal offices, because of the advantages such offices furnished as stepping-stones to political promotion or business advantages.

The Congress of Patriots, composed of the State Patriots, each four years, in August of the year preceding the presidential election (fifteen months prior to the election), is to submit to the order printed ballots containing all of the political questions agitating the country or any considerable portion thereof.

On the second Tuesday of January of the presidential year, the members of the order will meet in their lodge rooms and vote on these questions, voting yes or no to each proposition submitted. When a member votes yes to more than one question, he will number them 1, 2, 3, and so on in the order of importance they are in his judgment. The ballots are cast under safeguards provided for in the constitution that beyond doubt insure good faith and fairness. They are immediately canvassed in the presence of the members, and three certificates are made of the result. One of these certificates goes to the County Patriot, one to the State Patriot, and one to the National Patriot. They are canvassed in the same month by the Congress of Patriots and the result is declared.

This method gives, direct from the people, the result of their judgment, and it is known at once what the public opinion and wish is on all public questions. The strength and weakness of all propositions are thus determined as judged by the voice of the people. The plan invokes their wisdom and gets it.

If the vote shows a majority for more than one proposition, the constitution provides that the one appearing, in the judgment of the people, as of leading importance, shall be supported by the order and its influence used in the presidential and congressional elections to make it the law of the nation. The order thus agrees to stand together as a brotherhood and vote at political elections as a unit after it has been determined by the wisdom of a majority vote of the order what is wanted.

Political parties do this on a majority vote of their delegates in conventions. This order proposes to do it on a majority vote of its members cast directly on the questions.

By this method it is proposed to get one question settled every four years and move on to the next question. The plain people as a rule have never been wrong on public questions when they had a chance to discuss and vote thereon, but if they did make a mistake they could correct it in four years and not wait thirty years or forever, as proves to be the case under the present system.

The vote is taken and canvassed in January of the presidential year, preceding the meeting of the national conventions of the political parties.

If the order is strong, it will have the political parties cornered, and there is not likely to be any straddling or dishonest juggling of language in their platforms. One or more of them is going to decide that what the country wants is just what this great organization has ascertained from the people. If all the political parties decide with the order, it has accomplished a great purpose. But such is not likely to be the case till the order numbers substantially one half of the voters. One of the parties will no doubt decide to go with the money power.

It is not intended that the order shall nominate a candidate for the presidency independently of the political parties. To do so would at once antagonize those belonging to the present political parties and who hope to find a remedy through their parties. To act independently in this respect would subject the order to that slow growth that characterizes new political parties.

The plan contemplates using the political parties, for the present, and bringing them into competition with each other to establish the principles this organization advocates.

Under its operation the distinctive influences on political parties will be these :

On one hand will be selfish interests, organized to influence political parties and willing to use any political party that will get them what they want.

On the other hand will be an organization of the people who desire to promote the common good, and who by promoting the general welfare see wherein their own interest is best promoted, and are willing to accomplish their object through any political party that will free itself from selfish interests.

Having in January of the presidential year thus appealed to the wisdom of the people and voiced their opinion and wishes, the order waits for the national conventions to meet and adopt their platforms and name their candidates.

It will be sufficient to use, for illustration, three political parties to explain the action of the order under its constitution. The three parties meet in national conventions, adopt their platforms of principles, and nominate candidates.

The National Patriot of the order then issues a proclamation designating a day and hour for the meeting of all the lodges of the order, the time fixed being not less than thirty days nor more than fifty days from the date of the proclamation, "in which he shall name the different candidates for President and Vice-President, recite the respective platform utterances of the parties placing them in nomination, touching upon the national policy of the order as before agreed upon and the utterances thereon respectively of the separate candidates in their letters of acceptance, if published prior to such proclamation."

On the day and hour fixed in the proclamation the members of the order meet in their lodge rooms and vote under circumstances provided in the constitution that insure an honest vote. Prior to taking the vote and after the hour has arrived and the members assemble, the First Patriot of each local organization reads the proclamation that calls them together, and if the letter of acceptance of any presidential candidate appeared after the proclamation was issued he reads that also.

The vote is counted immediately in the presence of the members, and three certificates are made as in the case of the January

election—one sent to the County Patriot, one to the State Patriot, and one to the National Patriot. Immediately thereafter the Congress of Patriots meets, canvasses the certificates, and issues a bulletin to all the lodges, giving a tabulation of the certificates showing the result of the vote. Thus there is a perfect check on the canvass, besides being made by the men who have taken the oath of renunciation and dedicated their lives to the upbuilding of mankind.

The members of the order are then expected to vote as a unit for the person thus selected by the order—the man who in the judgment of a majority of the order stands honestly and squarely for the principle adopted at the January election.

